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ABSTRACT

This report describes a seminar designed to develop a better understanding of the problems and needs of working children and children living in the streets, to analyze policy and program experiences in working with such children, and to draft a set of recommendations to help improve the conditions of street and working children in the context of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. The report examines historical trends in child labor, the difficulty of identifying the number of street and working children, and the visible and invisible child work force. The report recommends that more be done to: (1) identify and reach children at risk, especially those in agriculture, domestic service, and in marginal activities; (2) maximize the opportunities for mobilizing partnerships and building alliances among families, communities, local organizations, and political leadership in an effort to transform the "enemies" of street and working children into allies and protectors; (3) develop relevant and cost-effective programs to meet the needs of such children; and (4) respond more adequately to the particular vulnerabilities of young girls who work. Three appendixes provide the text of specific recommendations, the seminar agenda, and a list of seminar participants. (MDM)

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STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN

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INNOCENTI GLOBAL SEMINAR

STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN

15-25 February 1993
Florence, Italy

SUMMARY REPORT

UNICEF
International
Child Development Centre
Spedale degli Innocenti
Florence, Italy

Prepared by
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INNOCENTI GLOBAL SEMINAR
STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN - SUMMARY REPORT

Table of Contents

Preface by Victoria Rialp 5

I. **INTRODUCTION: STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN** 7

II. **CHILDREN AT RISK: THE VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE** 13
- **The Historical Perspective** 13
- **Counting Working and Street Children** 15
- **The Visible and Invisible Child Workforce** 17

Children in the agricultural sector 17
Children in the informal sector 18
Children in domestic service 21
Children in marginal or illegal work 22

III. **MOBILIZING PARTNERSHIPS: FROM 'ENEMIES' TO 'ALLIES'** 24
- **Partnerships for Situation Analysis** 26
- **Partnerships for Project Activity** 26
- **Partnerships and Advocacy** 28

IV. **PROGRAMME ISSUES AND THE WORKING CHILD** 30
- **The Health of Working Children** 31
- **Education for All** 34
- **The State, Legal Systems and Children** 37
- **Working Girls** 40

V. **SEMINAR ASPIRATIONS AND DECISIONS** 43
- **Main Seminar Recommendations** 44

ANNEX 1. Specific Recommendations for Various Stages of the Programming Cycle 47
ANNEX 2. Agenda of the Fourth Innocenti Global Seminar 51
ANNEX 3. Participants and Invited Speakers 55

PREFACE

The Innocenti Global Seminar on Working and Street Children arose out of a growing concern to find more effective ways and means of meeting the needs of street and working children, and to accelerate action on their behalf, particularly in light of the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the subsequent demonstrations of political support for the World Summit Declaration and the Goals for Children in the 1990s.

Specifically, the organizers and participants of the Seminar, drawn from UNICEF field offices, government departments and non-governmental organizations actively involved with street and working children, hoped that the ten-day meeting would help them:

1. to develop a better understanding of the multifaceted problems and needs of working and street children through a review of global, regional and country studies;
2. to analyse policy and programme experiences with a focus on practical approaches, 'doable' actions, and lessons learned across countries and regions;
3. to develop a set of recommendations, policy framework and programming guidelines for the improved protection of working and street children at country, regional and global levels in the context of the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

It would seem, as reflected in this Seminar report, that these objectives were substantially met, perhaps not so much by arriving at cut-and-dry answers but, more importantly, by enriching the arena for analysis and discussion of the critical issues surrounding the phenomenon of street and working children, and thereby expanding the scope for action at various levels and in different contexts.

The report attempts to distil the richness of the discussion among participants, and indicates some of the overriding concerns shared by them; namely, to identify and reach children at risk, among whom are children working in the agricultural sector, in the informal sector, in domestic service, and in marginal activities; to maximize the opportunities for mobilizing partnerships and building alliances among families, communities, local organizations and political leadership, often with the aim of transforming 'enemies' of children into allies and protectors; to develop relevant and cost-effective programmes to meet the needs – be it health, nutrition, education, legal protection – of working and street children; to respond more adequately to the particular vulnerabilities of young girls who work.

UNICEF also sees this Seminar as an important example of technical collaboration with the International Labour Office, for which child labour is inherent in its institutional agenda and expertise. The Seminar drew heavily on ILO's long-standing experience and current policy thinking and rethinking, and participants outlined further and more concrete areas of collaboration among ILO, UNICEF, government and non-governmental partners over the short term and long term.

It is our hope that this report will foster the sharing of insights which emerged from the Seminar and that it will substantially contribute to making the world more aware of the painful situation of street and working children and, concomitantly, more willing and able to protect and rescue these children at risk.

Victoria Rialp
Project Officer
Children in Especially
Difficult Circumstances (CEDC)
Urban Section
New York

I. Introduction: Street and Working Children

The spectacle of children on the street plying a variety of legal – and not so legal – trades has recently gained worldwide attention. In many cities of Latin America, Africa and Asia, their presence is ubiquitous and growing. These are the visible child workers – the shoe-shiners, barrow-pushers, car attendants, and vendors of everything from trinkets to chewing-gum, straw hats to plastic bags, drugs to sexual intimacy. Many other working children are much less visible, confined to factories, mines and plantations, back-room bars and kitchen quarters. The International Labour Office (ILO) estimates that at least 100 million children worldwide perform tasks classifiable as 'labour' to earn money and assist their own and their families' survival.

A proportion of such children have lost contact with their families, sometimes because they are not wanted, sometimes because 'home' is so distressing they have left of their own accord. Many engage in risky behaviour, developing a subculture of their own and adopting the street as both a workplace and habitat. Children in this category – which is not nearly as large as is frequently assumed – are those whose image is typically evoked by the term 'street child'. They have attracted a special degree of concern: their plight is not only a child-related issue, but a statement about the perilous state of contemporary familial and societal bonds. Divorced from a stable social environment these 'street children' easily descend – or are led – into petty thieving, which often develops into more serious criminality. In some Latin American settings this has provoked extreme reactions, including targeted murder by hired assassins or 'off-duty' law enforcement officers.

From 15 to 25 February 1993, 34 representatives from international organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and governments in the developing world assembled in Florence at the invitation of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) to take part in the fourth UNICEF Innocenti Global Seminar on 'Street and Working Children'. They came from Abidjan, Amman, Bamako, Bangkok, Bujumbura, Dhaka, Gaborone, Hanoi, Ibadan, Lima, Lomé, Manila, Mexico City, Nairobi, Quito, Tegucigalpa, as well as Oxford, Geneva and New York. Their professional backgrounds included education, medicine, law, sociology, economics and finance, human rights, environmental psychology, agriculture, urban planning, external affairs, and problems associated with 'children in especially difficult circumstances' (CEDC), a category which includes child victims of war, children with disabilities, children living in extreme poverty as well as child labourers and other exploited children. The venue – fittingly – was the UNICEF International Child Development Centre (ICDC) which has a special research and policy interest in two closely related subjects: children's rights, and the problems faced by children in the slums and squatter settlements of the rapidly urbanizing developing world.

The home of ICDC, the gracious *Spedale degli Innocenti* was built during the Renaissance period by Florentine master architect Filippo Brunelleschi as Italy's premier institution for the care of orphaned and abandoned children. There are certainly strong parallels in the predicaments of those children for whom the centre was first established and the orphaned and family-less street children of today. In Africa, as Marilena Viviani from Burundi underlined at the outset of the Seminar, the phenomenon of children living on the street is associated with the mounting numbers of children orphaned by their parents' death from the AIDS virus. The main difference is one of focus, with the problem being seen in much contemporary analysis as one of location – the street. This can detract from an analysis of cause: repudiation or neglect of a child, or a child's loss or repudiation of home and family.

Children's presence on city streets, as Seminar resource person Jo Boyden consistently emphasized, may be a misleading guide to the situation of working children, some of whom are occupationally engaged on the street, many of whom are not; some of whom are in desperate need, while others, relatively, are not. The definition of 'street and working children' – the categories of children embraced by such a phrase and the variations in their predicaments both as workers and as children, was a crucial area of debate which recurred throughout the ten-day process of learning, experience-sharing and consciousness-raising.

Concern about street and working children, and the broader category of so-called CEDCs, has only come to the forefront of attention in UNICEF over

the last 10 years. Advocacy within UNICEF on behalf of the street child was pioneered in Latin America in the early 1980s by the late Peter Tacon, who developed a great personal and professional concern about the growing numbers of children surviving on the streets in psychologically and physically damaging circumstances. UNICEF policy was articulated in a paper submitted to the 1986 session of UNICEF's Executive Board entitled: *Exploitation of Working Children and Street Children* (Document No. E/ICEF/1986/CRP.3). This paper drew heavily on ILO and NGO experience and perspectives, with policy-making and programming approaches subsequently acknowledging the need for this special partnership framework. The presence at the Global Seminar of many non-UNICEF participants reinforced this recognition.

By contrast, ILO has long been active in the field of child labour. The Organization first took up this cause following its inception in 1919, pursuing the elimination of damaging child work through the passage and application of international conventions. After a lengthy period in mid-century when children drifted down the list of world labour concerns, they reappeared on the agenda under the 1973 Convention Concerning Minimum Age For Admission To Employment (Convention 138) by the International Labour Conference. Since that time, the proliferation of formal and informal employment of children in countries undergoing rapid demographic transition has justified ILO's heightened concern and has led to many policy, programme and legislative initiatives. Due to ILO's extensive experience with child labour, importance was attached to the contribution to the Seminar of ILO resource persons.

The most important legislative and advocacy landmark for all CEDCs is the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1989. This legal instrument, so far ratified by some 130 States Parties, represents a set of international standards against which countries' laws and policies towards children can be scrutinized. The Convention can also be seen as an expression of worldwide concern about the special vulnerabilities of children in poverty-stricken and hazardous environments.

No less than seven articles in the Convention contain provisions which relate to the protection of children from the types of risk and abuse which daily confront children who, because they are working, lack adult protection, guidance, nurture and love. These articles legitimize pressure on States Parties to the Convention to develop protective, preventive and rehabilitative programmes for children who are especially vulnerable and adversely affected by such conditions.

The 1989 Convention also underpins the Goals for Children in the 1990s which were endorsed by

The Convention on Minimum Age of Employment

ILO Convention No. 138 of 1973, has as its objective the elimination of child labour (Article 1). It sets at 15 the minimum age for entry into employment or work (or the age of completion of compulsory schooling, where this is higher); there is a proviso that some States may begin by setting a minimum age of 14 with a view to raising it once economic circumstances and the development of educational facilities allow (Article 2). However, the minimum age for any type of work which is likely to jeopardize the health, safety or morals of young people is set at 18 (Article 3). At present, 141 countries have a statutory basic minimum age; 134 countries have a statutory minimum age for hazardous work; but not all conform with the 1973 ILO standards.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

Two articles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child are especially applicable to the circumstances of 'street and working children':

Article 19: The right to protection from violence, abuse and neglect.

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child.

2. Such protective measures should, as appropriate, include effective procedures for the establishment of social programmes to provide necessary support for the child and for those who have the care of the child, as well as for other forms of prevention and for identification, reporting, referral, investigation, treatment and follow-up of instances of child maltreatment described heretofore, and, as appropriate, for judicial involvement.

Article 32: The right to protection from economic exploitation.

1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.

2. States Parties shall take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to ensure the implementation of the present article. To this end, and having regard to the relevant provisions of other international instruments, States Parties shall in particular:

(a) Provide for a minimum age or minimum ages for admission to employment;
(b) Provide for appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment;
(c) Provide for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the present article.

Heads of State and Government at the 1990 World Summit for Children. The seventh goal seeks: "Improved protection of children in especially difficult circumstances" (CEDCs). (A supporting goal requires countries to also: "tackle the root causes leading to such situations".) Many countries have subsequently articulated in policy form National Programmes of Action (NPAs) in order to reach these goals; these NPAs are not carved in stone, but are subject to revision and elaboration in the light of emerging and receding child policy priorities.

These examples of recent international instruments and stated commitments not only provide an impetus for national legislative action concerning children, but also provide a policy-making framework of immense strategic importance. They can be used to engender political will among governments,

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9

World Summit for Children: Specific Actions

Children in especially difficult circumstances.

22. Millions of children around the world live under especially difficult circumstances – as orphans and street children, as refugees or displaced persons, as victims of war and natural and man-made disasters, including such perils as exposure to radiation and dangerous chemicals, as children of migrant workers and other socially disadvantaged groups, as child workers or youths trapped in the bondage of prostitution, sexual abuse and other forms of exploitation, as disabled children and juvenile delinquents and as victims of apartheid and foreign occupation. Such children deserve special attention, protection and assistance from their families and communities and as part of national efforts and international cooperation.

23. More than 100 million children are engaged in employment, often heavy and hazardous and in contravention of international conventions which provide for their protection from economic exploitation and from performing work that interferes with their education and is harmful to their health and full development. With this in mind, all States should work to end such child-labour practices and see how the conditions and circumstances of children in legitimate employment can be protected to provide adequate opportunity for their healthy upbringing and development.

official and non-governmental institutions, and citizens to take action on behalf of children at risk. Throughout the Seminar, participants reiterated the point that the Convention on the Rights of the Child, in particular, offered a unique and timely opportunity to advance a cause that many governments and large organizations have a tendency to downplay, leaving awkward child 'welfare' issues to the casework approach of typical service-delivery NGOs. The multiplying dimensions of the phenomenon today, however, demand programming and advocacy approaches which take wider social and economic forces into account and lead to interventions of scale.

Many participants, notably those from Ecuador and Peru, brought to the Seminar evidence of the drastic impact in their countries of current Structural Adjustment Programmes. Budgetary cuts in education, health and social services, mounting unemployment, lower incomes and reduced purchasing power among those already enduring the harshness of poverty have become a depressingly familiar story in recent years. Large numbers of people, including children, have been precipitated into the informal workplace and into marginal or servile employment. Economic strain in the household is forcing many families to fall back on the earning potential of even their youngest members, whatever the cost to their education and future prospects as adults.

Lack of control over their lives encourages the tacit, and even active, participation of disadvantaged families in their own exploitation. This can add to levels of family stress and foment breakdowns in personal relations. The interaction between poverty and the presence of children in the workforce as well as on the street was a theme frequently touched upon by Seminar participants, although not with unanimous agreement about the nature of a connection between the two. But that poverty is a typical precondition of a child's early entry into employment is beyond dispute; few children will be found scavenging or shining shoes

who do not come from disadvantaged families. The predicament of the parent-less child on the street is often a final outcome of poverty, joblessness, loss of parental self-esteem, unwanted pregnancies, alcoholism, family rupture, violence, abuse and despair.

Thus the phenomenon of street and working children is closely associated with deteriorating economic circumstances and 'adjustment' to them at the national, community and family levels. Policy advocates of 'adjustment with a human face' need to take into account both gender and age as regards diminished work opportunities and lower pay. The presence of children in the workforce is an indicator as well as an outcome of forces operating high in the economic firmament. Even the domestic workload piled onto the small shoulders of a little girl, and her consequent absence from school, may be seen as an outcome of the search for work of other family members in increasingly straitened circumstances.

The budgetary constraints imposed by current economic duress imply a competition for scarce resources among socially-oriented programmes. But Seminar participants concluded that to regard programmes aimed at improving the lives of working children as an 'add-on' was to take too narrow a view. Many services are currently delivered by NGOs; 'adding on' may mean networking and advocacy. And when it comes to targeting the neediest families, there is no 'either-or'. In the six to 18 year-old age group, those who work are contiguous with those most at risk of low educational attainment, poor nutritional status, vulnerability to disease and early pregnancy. They are also the older brothers and sisters of the most at-risk group: the under-five year olds. Their 'work' may actually consist of looking after their smaller siblings. Observing children from the perspective of 'work' should not obscure the fact that these are the same children as those in poor, female-headed households, slum populations, large and ill-spaced families living in circumstances in which there is generally a high level of other gender and poverty risk factors.

The special role of NGOs in opening up issues concerning child exploitation both as advocates and as funding and operational agencies was recognized by Seminar participants, some of whom represented NGOs in this category. Many projects set up by NGOs and supported by their donor partners have blazed new educational trails, experimented with new tactics for prevention or protection, developed special 'street primary health care', reached new groups of child and family clientele, and gained widespread publicity for the plight of disadvantaged children. NGOs have also pioneered the development of children's own participation in programmes and advocacy.

Some local and international bodies have performed the function of shaming governments and international organizations into dropping the pretext of sensitivity which has often been used to justify non-involvement with issues such as child prostitution and abuse. The Seminar set out to learn as much as possible from the experiences of organizations such as the Undugu Society of Kenya, Proyecto Alternativas in Honduras and Childhope Asia in dealing with the shadowy world of drug-abusing children and those in dangerous or illegal occupations such as prostitution. Governments and international agencies in Thailand, Jordan, the Philippines and elsewhere are becoming increasingly involved.

The Seminar's aim was to sharpen participants' programming and project management skills on behalf of street and working children. The concept of 'programme' applied by the Seminar extended far beyond service delivery. The role of advocacy and the need to press for policy and legislative change were considered intrinsic to the programming process. Many participants reiterated the need to shed formula-type thinking about services, projects and policies in the light of the special characteristics of the working child phenomenon. The search for scale – which the current epidemic of child work necessitates – will require a creative search for new public and private sector partnerships at local, national and international levels. This will include the recruitment of allies in the world of work – including those who might at present be seen as 'enemies': employers, unions, police and members of the judiciary.

At the outset, participants were asked to reflect on their expectations of the Seminar. They identified a wide range of desired organizational and personal outcomes, including: the need to develop new networking and advocacy strategies to meet Convention standards on behalf of children in especially difficult

circumstances; becoming familiar with the latest research into the societal and environmental context of the lives of street and working children; and developing ways of drawing upon or training particular persons, such as family members, street educators and children themselves.

The Seminar programme was developed by Victoria Rialp of the UNICEF Programme Division in New York in conjunction with Alan Silverman of UNICEF's Training Section. The methodology was participatory and exploratory; resource persons – experts in the field – acted as participants, and many participants became resource persons for sessions relating to their particular experience. The proceedings consisted of a mixture of presentations, group discussions, individual work and private reflection, with the aid of videos and written material. The Seminar agenda may be read in full in Annex 2. On the penultimate day participants were asked to prepare a personal programme of work for the proceeding 12 months, emphasizing actions that they would take on the basis of what they had learned at the Seminar.

This report on the Innocenti Global Seminar attempts to capture the main areas of discussion, bringing out critical issues around which – in some cases – consensus emerged. It does not follow the agenda and is not strictly a set of 'proceedings' since its organizational starting-point is to present not what people learned, but the concerns that emerged most strongly from the learning process. Although it attempts to meet the 'state of the art' criterion that participants identified, it does so in the full recognition that the snapshot of the subject obtained at the Seminar was very incomplete, centred as it was on the experiences of those present. There were no representatives from, for example, India and Brazil, to name just two countries where important initiatives for street and working children have been pioneered. The report echoes the mood of the Seminar in its openness and informality, and in its 'street wisdom' that dichotomies of viewpoints are natural to the search for understanding at what is, for most people and most countries, an early stage of exploration in a new area.

In the field of child work, changing societal attitudes, economic advances, legislative actions and their implementation are the preconditions of progress. There can be no quick-fix solution, no technological breakthrough which can spontaneously consign child exploitation to the pages of history. Children who retreat from the streets into their own or substitute homes, who manage to stay in school, and who generally improve their conditions will – under current circumstances in most developing world cities – be replaced by others, for whom solutions must be found. Eliminating the street and working child phenomenon will be far from easy, and cannot be planned as a quasi-military operation within a given time-frame. But despite the enormity of the task ahead, Seminar participants found many causes for optimism.

It is not too whimsical a hope that, by the year 2000, those who took part in this fourth Innocenti Global Seminar will look back on the occasion as an important landmark on the path towards a 'grand alliance for working children'. Between now and then, it is quite feasible that such a network could win great practical gains on behalf of what is arguably the most vulnerable, exploited and abused group of human beings in the world.

12

II. Children at Risk: the Visible and Invisible

The first requirement for improved programming and advocacy on behalf of working children is improved analysis of who they are and why they are doing what they do. Too little is known about their family and community backgrounds, where they are working geographically and occupationally, the risks they face, and the application of existing legal provisions for their exclusion from the workforce or protection within it. A considerable amount of Seminar energy was therefore spent on issues relating to 'situation analysis' at the individual child, family, community and national levels.

Data about working children is sketchy, and assumptions based on historical experience, anecdotal evidence, and emotive media treatments have tended to dominate perceptions. Some of the most important information provided at the Seminar emanated from the explosion of myths about working and street children resulting from recent research.

The Historical Perspective

A useful starting-point was provided by a presentation of historical perspectives by William Myers, a resource person with senior responsibility for child labour in ILO.

The conventional view of the reasons for the growth of child labour in Western industrial society, and for its rapid decline in the 19th and 20th centuries, has recently undergone reassessment. Since this view has tended until recently to inform approaches to the contemporary phenomenon of child labour, it is now important to reinterpret the experience and work out what can and cannot be carried over in our efforts to understand and combat child labour in the developing world today.

Something that has plagued the child labour issue is the idea that 'there is a solution'.

William Myers, ILO

Child work has existed throughout history, but the presence of children in factories and mines spawned by the Industrial Revolution in Europe made it more conspicuous, more hazardous and more exploitative. Public outcry led to legislation to raise the minimum age of employment and improve working conditions; this combined with the phenomenon of factory inspectorates and the introduction of compulsory education appeared to have brought about the elimination of children from the organized workplace. In fact, as is now recognized, these measures were contributing factors, but were not causally or exclusively responsible.

The decline of child labour in Western industrialized workplaces appears to be more closely associated with the formalization of economic activity into registered and discrete components of the public and private sectors; and with technological advance, which required trained and mature workers. Child labour continues to flourish in those parts of the world where economic life is not characterized by these patterns; or where the transition towards these patterns is far from complete. Some developing countries, however, have been far more successful than others in reducing the worst abuses connected with the presence of children in the workplace.

Sometimes the child is the first to cry when an inspector comes into a sweatshop. The next day he will not be working, and his parents will beat him.

Victoria Rialp, UNICEF

Thus, although a legislative framework governing the minimum age of employment and conditions of work, backed by enforcement mechanisms, are vital preconditions to ending child labour, they are inadequate in themselves. Similarly, compulsory education will not in itself create circumstances in which parents can afford to lose their children's economic contribution in favour of sending them to school. Where adult wages are low, where social security systems are not in place, and where a preteen or teenaged child can adequately perform agricultural, trading or manufacturing tasks, it is difficult to picture an early end to damaging forms of child work. Neither parents, nor children, nor employers are likely to cooperate with attempts to stop children from earning in these circumstances.

In fact, the recent history of recession and structural adjustment in many countries, particularly in Latin America, is tending to promote the opposite trend. Jose Carlos Cuentas-Zavala, UNICEF Representative in Quito, described a combination of eco-

nomic and social forces which had recently tended to precipitate Ecuadorian children out of school and into work. High fertility, extremely rapid urbanization (from 29 to 55 per cent of the population in 40 years), an oil boom followed by a collapse which lowered GNP per capita by 40 per cent from 1980 to 1990, and the travails of adjustment, have combined to create a 'new poverty' characterized by family fragmentation, lawlessness and squalor. Between 1982 and 1990, the proportion of 12 to 19 year-old urban children in the workforce rose from 19 to 21 per cent.

The reaction of the Ecuadorian government – prompted also by the Convention on the Rights of the Child – was the 1992 passage of a new legal code for Minors. This outlaws dangerous types of work such as mining and garbage-dump scavenging, and regulates employment for the 12 to 14 age group and the 14 to 18 age group. However, Cuentas-Zavala expressed reservations as to whether the provisions of the Code would be carried out: the costs of so doing would be prohibitive under current economic circumstances, particularly as a new system of regional juvenile courts was envisaged. This experience confirmed the inadequacy of legal provisions in an adverse social and economic climate for combating child labour.

It is for this reason that the ILO – while retaining its overall thrust towards national legislative change and enforcement according to international norms – has recently become much more involved in projects and policies designed to alleviate the effects of child work. Policy and programmatic interventions in most developing country settings will require targeted attention to one or more priorities: the removal of very young children from the workplace; health protection for children working in hazardous circumstances; the provision of special educational services; and rehabilitation of children damaged by work or by the requirements of a particular working lifestyle. These can be seen as interim arrangements until such time as the process of economic and industrial transition – as well as changing attitudes within society and their expression in law – become more favourable to the actual elimination of child labour.

One requirement of any situation analysis will be to determine where along the spectrum of eco-

Ecuador: The 'New Poverty' and the Working Child

According to Ecuador's 1990 census, over 500,000 children work, representing 10 per cent of the economically active population.

Age group 8-11: 32,000
Age group 12-14: 108,000
Age group 15-19: 368,000

Total: 508,000

From 1982-1990, the participation of urban children in the workforce aged between 12 and 19 rose from 18.6 per cent to 20.9 per cent. Participation is higher in the countryside: 32.7 per cent. Less than half are girls.

Thirty per cent of children work more than 40 hours a week; with each year of age, two hours of work per week are added. Girls also work at home, so their hours are longer and they are paid less.

Sixty per cent of children work in the informal sector without legal protection; boys sell shoes, newspapers, lottery tickets; girls sell fruit and vegetables.

nomic transition – or regression, as in Ecuador and many other countries – a given country is positioned. The changing characteristics of rural and urban labour must be understood: What proportion of the available work is manual toil as opposed to mechanized labour? Is the physical requirement light or heavy, and what qualifications are needed? What are the changing patterns of the workforce – male-female, old-young – and are terms of employment, earnings and the bargaining clout of employees improving or declining? These determinants 'set the scene' for the engagement of children in work, and influence the proportionate emphases to be given to elimination, protection and prevention by those trying to combat child labour.

Counting Working and Street Children

Any situation analysis developed to guide programme interventions requires basic demographic data. Unfortunately, there are great difficulties in providing statistics about working children. The ILO estimates that the total global workforce of children under 15 is about 100 million. Of these, 95 per cent live in developing countries. Half are in Asia, the most highly populated region in the world; but the highest proportion of working children – one in three – is in Africa. In Latin America, 15 to 20 per cent of children 'work', according to ILO definitions.

These figures, as Josefina Dy of ILO explained to the Seminar, are open to question and reinterpretation because of the complexities involved in counting child workers. It is not coincidental that the number of children globally estimated as being without access to primary education is also 100 million, and that Africa is, moreover, the region with the highest proportion of children out of school. However, in many environments a 'working child' does not invariably mean an 'out-of-school child': some countries run schools by shifts, and children vend, shine shoes or collect scrap in the early morning or late afternoon depending on their hours of classroom attendance.

Obtaining accurate data on child workers from the workplace, even on those in organized factories, plantations and mines, is very difficult. In many countries the employment of under-aged boys and girls is illegal and employers therefore falsify statistics and evade inspection. Outside the formal workplace – on the streets, in domestic service, as casual labour in agriculture, fishing or construction – the problem becomes even more difficult; many of these workers do not have to be registered and their numbers fluctuate or are never reported. And when illegal or socially inadmissible work is added – children in bonded labour or prostitution – precise counting becomes impossible. Thus, most statistics on child labour are informed estimates based on census data, household surveys, and indicators such as school drop-out rates.

When we confront a problem we often say: 'Don't just stand there, do something!' Now we are saying: 'Don't just do something, stand there first!'

William Myers, ILO

The difficulties in establishing the dimensions of the child workforce are not confined to quantitative and demographic problems. There are wide differences of view and value judgements concerning 'work' undertaken by children. These are associated with socio-economic circumstances, cultures and ideologies of childhood. The idea of a protracted period of time in the early part of life in which youngsters enjoy special protection, nurture and dependency is relatively recent historically and largely confined to industrialized societies. Where 'education' in the form of training for future adult life is provided in and around the home by parents, 'work' in the form of household and farming chores often begins as soon as a child can walk, increasing with the growth of the child's physical strength, knowledge and capacity to handle the small hurdles of daily living.

Millions of children today are still raised in an environment where the distinctions between 'helping parents', 'education and preparation for future adult life', and 'child labour' are blurred. In rural Africa, the little girl graduates from carrying a tiny water jar to hauling a large and heavy pot over a considerable distance; from holding the baby for a few minutes to day-long responsibility. The boy moves on from bird-scaring to herding goats even when the search for grazing takes him far from home; from running errands to and from the local shop to running a 'business' in the market.

Communities which value certain technical skills – pottery, weaving, woodwork, blacksmithing,

lace-making, bangle-making – usually begin to impart them to children as early as practicable. This has been a universal experience: in pre-modern Europe, boys used to be apprenticed at the age of nine or ten, and girls of the same age were 'apprenticed' into marriage or domestic service. Only in recent times has schooling and 'book learning' become an almost universally accepted 'qualification' for remunerative employment or the occupational role allotted to the future adult by gender and social expectations. And there are parts of the world where learning from books is not an alternative education to a formal or informal type of training or apprenticeship, but a supplementary one still seen as of questionable relevance, particularly for girls.

According to the broadest definition, therefore, children in the developing world who do not belong to educated, well-off families 'work' in the sense that they undertake activities of economic significance to the household; this is the vast majority of children in many countries. The work they do is not necessarily undesirable or wrong; indeed the introduction of a child to 'work' by the parent or protector – even to work on the street – may well be regarded as a proper and rightful responsibility. Kwadjo Mally of Togo, Regional Director of the World Association for Orphans, described to the Seminar how in West Africa, from Nigeria to Senegal, great importance was attached to the 'culture of selling', and girls are trained in trading and simple accountancy in the market at a young age. "The work of a child is seen as an apprenticeship for life", he said. "The child is trained to learn by experience how to be responsible to take over his future and place in the community. This work is an education, not an exploitation."

In West Africa, as in some other parts of the world, it is not uncommon for a child to be entrusted to another family, usually but not necessarily that of a kinsman. This guardian family, because of location in the city or better circumstances, is in a position to give the child useful training: in cooking, selling, sewing, carpentry, or some other profession. This unpaid apprenticeship is regarded in West Africa as a privilege bestowed by the guardian family; but from another cultural vantage point, it can be viewed as a highly exploitative practice. In Haiti, for example, the situation of *rest-avek* children – children 'sold' into the care of a family in return for their domestic labour – is designated by human rights activists as equivalent to slavery.

Thus it is not the fact of 'work' *per se*, but the nature of the work undertaken by the child, its degree of physical or mental burden, its dangers and hazards, the terms on which it is performed and its social context, which characterize the nature of the damage – or the benefit – it confers on children and childhood. In some contexts – and again West Africa was cited, although the same occurs in all societies undergoing rapid transition – traditional practices regarding child work which used to be conducive to a sound upbringing can evolve into a situation of exploitation. For example, the apprenticeship of boys to Islamic *imams* as acolytes so that they can learn the Koran and a life of moral and spiritual discipline is a centuries-old custom. But in the materialist climate of today, some priests use the boys – their *talibes* – for organized begging and extortion; a once respected practice has been flagrantly abused and some *talibes* victimized.

ILO has tried to make a clear distinction between children working in socially and personally useful ways – working for pocket money, doing household chores, helping in the family business during the school holidays – and children whose working conditions should be regulated or eliminated. Working children at risk, according to ILO, are: children who are prematurely leading adult lives and working long hours for low wages under conditions which are damaging to their health and to their physical and mental development.

What is Exploitative Child Work?

When children:

- work too young
- work too long hours
- work for too little pay
- work in hazardous conditions
- work under slave-like arrangements

This clarification helped to define for the Seminar participants the 'at-risk' street and working child on whom attention should focus; they recognized, however, that in practice this distinction is not always easy to make.

The Visible and Invisible Child Workforce

The risk factors encountered by working children are heavily influenced by the nature and context of the work and whether it is 'visible' or 'invisible'. The need for situation analyses to document the situations of invisible working children was one of the strongest themes to emerge from the Seminar.

Some child work is invisible because it is hidden from view; its invisibility is reinforced if work in the sector is not protected by legislation, or if it is illegal. Although the street is a hazardous workplace, not only because of the physical risks but because of the poor public health environment and the negative social influences, what happens on the street is at least visible; it is their visibility, in fact, which has raised the profile of street children in the public mind. But children in domestic service and those serving in back-room workshops, bars and brothels are hidden, and the abuse from which they suffer usually takes place behind closed doors – doors which few employers or government officials wish to prise open.

We talk about 'street children', but what about 'beach children' and maidservants? And what about children in rural areas for whom 'street' is inappropriate?

Alan Silverman, UNICEF

There is another type of invisibility which afflicts some working children: as Miguel Ugalde from UNICEF Ibadan pointed out, the presence of Nigerian children working in markets, on transport systems, at traffic intersections, in restaurants and on wayside stalls is so universal and ubiquitous that it simply goes unnoticed. Many Seminar participants felt the need for those in privileged groups – like themselves – to be sensitized to notice child work that is often taken for granted. For example, some participants who declared in the early stages of the Seminar that "child domestic service is not a problem in my country" had changed their minds by the end of the meeting.

The Seminar followed ILO typology in grouping child work into four broad categories: agriculture, including fishing, forestry and horticulture; the informal sector, including small factories, workshops and street enterprises; domestic service, mainly in private households; and marginal or illegal work such as prostitution, drug trafficking and crime. Working groups focused on questions relating to the identification and enumeration of children 'at risk' in these various kinds of working activities or employment.

Children in the agricultural sector

By far the majority of working children are engaged in agricultural activity. But there is an important distinction to be drawn between children who help their parents cultivate small family farms and tend their few livestock, and children who are employed as labourers on estates and plantations. However, there can be an overlap in that many large estates employ labour on a family basis, and children therefore accompany their parents to pick, weed, dig or cut cane.

In many countries, there is no legal protection for agricultural employees, particularly where they are hired on a casual and seasonal basis. Thus there is little statistical data about the participation of children in the rural or agricultural workforce. That they do participate is evident from observation; and in some circumstances – such as in the Central American sugar canefields – they may do so in extreme conditions of exploitation.

Many countries are engaged in a process of transition from labour-intensive cultivation to industrialized agriculture; the state of transition varies not only from country to country but from crop to crop. Human labour in fruit cultivation, for example, tends to be replaced by machine labour much later than in grain cultivation. Changes in the workforce can include a move from male-intensive to female-intensive employment to keep wage costs down; the same impulses can induce the increased employment of children. As was underlined by Nazar Memon, Senior Programme Officer in UNICEF Nairobi, children employed on large farms tend to be occupationally and nutritionally at greater risk than those helping out on family plots, even where the economy of most people is close to subsistence.

In some environments, the seasonality of agricultural work has an important bearing on family life and work patterns. At peak season, such as harvest time, there is an abundance of work and an increase in family income; at other times during the year there may be no work and a hungry season, but it is easier then for a child to attend school. Ramesh Shrestha of UNICEF Hanoi pointed out that in a country such as Vietnam, where there are three annual crops of rice and farming continues year-round, there are high points at which children's labour is depended upon and during which it is unrealistic to expect parents to relinquish their children's labour in favour of the classroom. The Vietnamese government is experimenting with adaptive class membership and schooling calendars to meet the demands of the agricultural lifestyle.

Where the need for a child to work is in direct conflict with the possibility of attending school regularly, the deprivation represented by 'work' can also be seen as an occupational risk. This deprivation is particularly noticeable in occupations such as deep-sea fishing, where absence at sea for extended periods of time definitively precludes regular school attendance. William Myers was careful to point out that although many children work instead of going to school, many also work in order to earn the money to go to school. The elasticity of 'work' in many rural contexts, both in terms of seasons and daily activity, presents opportunities for adjusting school terms and hours to enable working children to attend.

The health risks faced by children working in farming, fishing and forestry include accidents, as well as malnutrition induced by a heavy workload and a food intake insufficient for the nutritional requirements of a young and growing body. Other public health risks include exposure to pesticides and chemicals used in modern intensive farming systems. Physical immaturity makes children particularly vulnerable to any form of chemical contamination.

Participants concluded that the dearth of information about children in the agricultural sector – which stems mainly from the assumption that most of their farming and herding work is integral to family life and benign – needs to be remedied. The progressive industrialization of agriculture contains hazards for children which need monitoring, assessment and exposure, since the day when technology and skill requirements themselves will mitigate against the use of children in the rural workforce is still a long way away in many countries. As in all questions concerning child labour, gender should be embraced in the analysis, although most agricultural child work is performed by boys.

Finally, there are groups of children in pastoral and semi-pastoral societies, and bonded children on ancient feudal estates, whose 'obligations' or work exclude them completely from the kind of upbringing and education which would equip them for opportunities in the wider society. As Sheila Tacon, UNICEF Representative for Botswana, noted, these are 'missing children' – among the most invisible of all – who must be found and included in an expanded 'street and working child' analysis.

Children in the informal sector

In many ways the informal sector in the urban environment has the same characteristics as the rural subsistence sector: the dynamics of economic activity stem from the need to survive, and the means by which individuals do so are not necessarily reflected in countries' definitions of labour or productivity.

Because the petty-trading and manufacturing activities which characterize the informal sector do not conform with conventional post-industrial norms on production and employment, they are beyond the reach of standard forms of regulation and economic analysis. Thus, though many children working in this sector are visible in the sense that they can be seen – selling vegetables outside shopping malls, weaving through the traffic with an armload of newspapers, selling flowers on a pitch outside an office block or hotel – their work is invisible in that it is not reflected in production or GNP statistics, and their employment is untraceable in company annals.

Our problem is: how do we make the invisible visible?

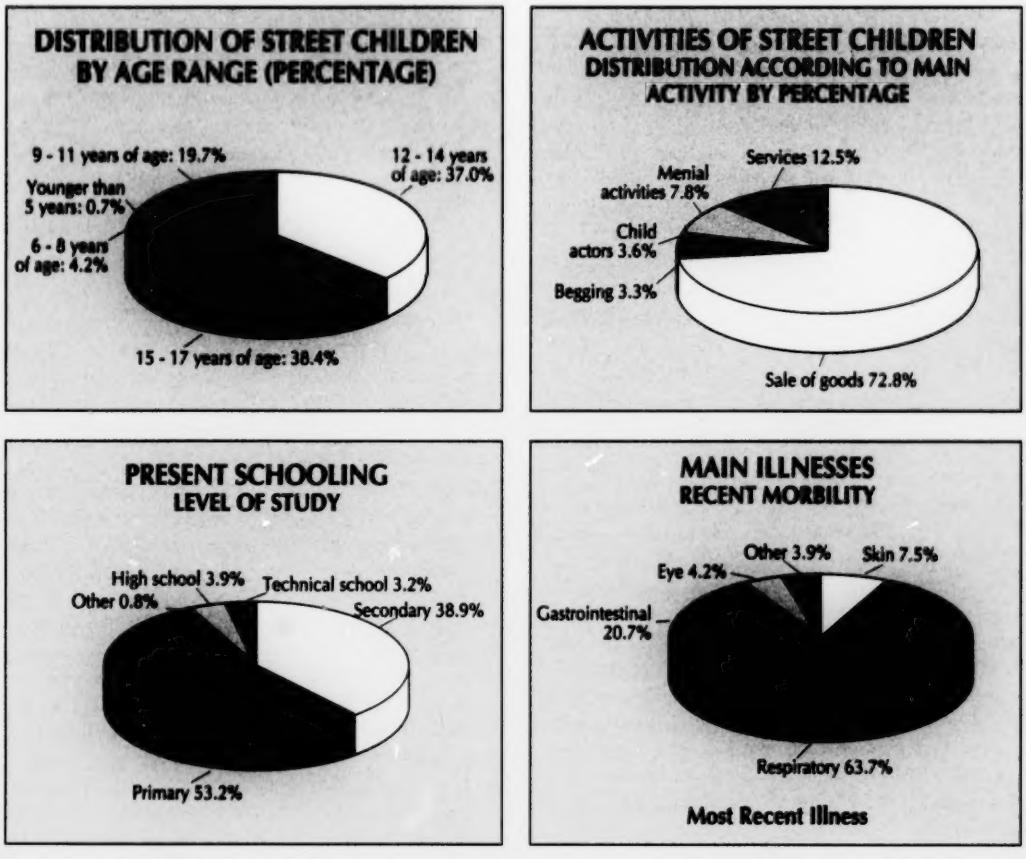
William Myers, ILO

There is no such thing as an invisible child!

Boudewijn Mohr, UNICEF Abidjan

Some recent efforts to analyse numbers and lifestyles of children working on the streets have developed

Street Children in Mexico City



Taken from *Mexico City: Street Children Study*, COESNICA, Mexico, 1992.

techniques based on 'mapping' known child meeting places: bus and train stations, shopping arcades, traffic intersections, parks and markets. Evidence shows that while working street children move around to some extent, depending on the time of day and where customers can be found, most tend to congregate regularly in a chosen place in the company of chosen mates. Jorge Mejia, CEDC Officer in UNICEF Mexico, described a recent situation analysis conducted in Mexico City using this methodology; Teresita Silva of Childhope Asia had experience of similar exercises conducted in the Philippines.

The Mexican study, conducted in the Federal District of Mexico City with a population of 8 million, was undertaken following alarmist media reports of up to 100,000 children working and living on the streets. The most striking finding of the survey was that only 11,172 children were identified; and of these, 91 per cent, or over 10,000, were living at

19

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home and working on behalf of their families. Only just over 1,000 could be classified as true 'street children'. The majority, 73 per cent, were engaged in vending and trading, mostly in and around commercial centres, transport terminals and markets. Only 3 per cent were engaged in begging. Most working children – 72 per cent – were boys.

Although queries were raised about the overall Mexico City statistics, given the omission of children working in suburban areas, other studies echo these findings as far as proportions of children without families are concerned. Typically, true 'street children' constitute between 5 and 10 per cent of children whose workplace is the street; in Dhaka, Bangladesh, a recent study revealed 7 per cent. Thus separation from home and family, and lack of shelter is not nearly so acute a risk as is often assumed; the number of shelters for homeless children in Mexico City turned out to be higher than the number of children needing them.

These working children can more accurately be described as children in the visible informal sector. They are usually from poor families; although Josefina Dy of ILO described how only 20 per cent of the children scavenging on Manila's notorious Smokey Mountain garbage dump come from families of the 'hard-core' poor. Most of the children have a strong desire to work. Meanwhile, some of their out-of-work parents are not prepared to compromise on job offers: they preferred unemployment to a degrading job, or one so far away that they spend their meagre wages in bus fares and are almost never at home. Boudewijn Mohr, UNICEF's Regional Advisor for CEDC in West Africa, noted that a study of children working in Zairean mines showed that fathers were content to send their children down into the mines while they remained unemployed. Findings such as these imply that child entry into the informal workforce is not necessarily an indicator of extreme family distress and may have complex motivations.

Children in the informal workforce face certain occupational risks: low pay, exposure to a physically unhealthy environment (working children in polluted Mexico City suffered a high rate of respiratory infection; children on Smokey Mountain were susceptible to carbon monoxide poisoning and tetanus), and a hazardous social environment (lack of close parental guidance and protection).

The 'regularity' of street children's lives can be surprising. Over 82 per cent of the children surveyed in Mexico City claimed to be able to read and write; around two thirds (63 per cent) were not in school. Thus fully one third were in school and a considerable proportion of those not in school had been at one time. In Dhaka, 29 per cent of working children are in school. On Smokey Mountain, most children were earning money in order to pay for their school uniforms and books; older children scavenged at night and went to school during the day.

However, there tends to be a high school drop-out rate after age 12. Many Seminar participants pointed to the lack of secondary school places in most countries, particularly places which did not require fees and other financial support, as a factor in the early precipitation of children into work. In Mexico City, over three quarters of the children surveyed were in the 12-17 age group, a finding which correlates with this observation. In Dhaka, by contrast, 63 per cent of the children surveyed were under 12 years of age; but this has little to do with secondary school entry and is more likely to be connected with the ubiquitousness of very young children at work in Bangladesh.

The street-based focus of the Mexican, Bangladeshi, and other recent studies on working children may have rendered a disservice to the children who are employed in much less visible ways in the informal sector. In Thailand, Mexico and in many other countries undergoing rapid economic transition and high rural-urban migration, there has been a recent proliferation of back-street enterprises and workshops. As in the more traditional rural and urban enterprises such as brick-kilns, carpet factories, loom weaving, and cigarette manufacture, children are commonly employed in these enterprises beyond the gaze of labour inspectors and the general public. Many are run by fathers and relatives.

Children working near restaurants usually eat left-over food. Others go to what they call the 'beggar restaurants': the food sold is collected from dinner parties the night before or hotels.

Rosemary Husin, UNICEF Dhaka

Children working the less fluid and often extremely long hours of workshop or mini-factory

20

employment may find schooling even less practicable than those who work in their own time in the freedom of the streets. The public health environment may also be worse: air thick with dust or laden with fumes from chemical glues and printing inks, cramped conditions, extreme heat from furnaces, and no safety precautions. Child apprentices in the workshops of Old Dhaka can be found sleeping with machinery as bedfellows. In teashops and food stalls children work both night and day; and the service some customers expect extends far beyond waiting on tables and running next door for a packet of cigarettes.

Children on the street have a 'front stage, back stage' personality. They present themselves the way they want you to see them.

Sabri Rheihat,
Directorate of Public Security, Amman

Seminar participants were impressed by the methodology of 'mapping' child meeting points and interviewing their habitues to understand the dimensions of street work. Importance was attached to the use of suitably trained personnel – street workers and educators – in whom the children are likely to feel confidence. Giving authority figures inaccurate answers to prying questions may be considered 'fair play' in the street subculture; brief questionnaires and police interviews were thought to lead to poor-quality data. However, Sabri Rheihat of the Directorate of Public Security in Amman, Jordan described from experience how Jordanian police had been successfully trained to become street child confidants.

Much more information is needed about working children in both the visible and less visible informal sector. This should include children working in environments with special occupational health risks. Seminar participants called for a more careful analysis into all forms of child employment and self-employment via studies, questions in household surveys, anthropological observation, and extrapolations from existing industrial and employment data. Analysis is needed of the micro-economics of informal child work, including motives of children and of parents who permit or support such activity; and about the role of 'significant persons' other than parents in their economic lives, including bosses, 'big' vendors, money-lenders, community leaders and law enforcement officers.

Children in domestic service

The number of children in domestic service worldwide runs into millions, although no exact figures exist. Unlike other regular types of child work this occupation is dominated by girls.

Children as domestic servants are an invisible workforce because they carry out their duties in the privacy of people's homes. In addition, many people with regular incomes – and some Seminar participants included themselves in this observation – employ child domestics without awareness of or a keen regard to possible deprivations of rights. This also constitutes invisibility, and reinforces the point that the line between 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' child work, even in the same environment, can be difficult to draw, particularly where traditional norms concerning child work are still operative or are in the process of evolution.

Child domestics are potentially a highly vulnerable group although many employers and parents think of the child as living in a good environment, learning a skill, and being socially useful. As Rosemary Husin, CEDC Officer in UNICEF Bangladesh, pointed out: "Child domestics live in isolation. Unlike other working children, they have little or no control over their lives since they have to adjust to a set of rules framed by their employers. They face the risk of physical and sexual abuse, and since they are isolated from their families they have no one to talk to about their problems."

Girls never used to work away from home, even as domestics. They are unprotected. They suffer from sexual exploitation, isolation and confinement.

Nora Galer, UNICEF Peru

Nora Galer, Programme Coordinator from UNICEF Lima, pointed to the lack of clarity surrounding the labour status of many child domestics, who are incorporated into the household as distant relatives and seen as domestic trainees; a similar picture emerged from West Africa. Galer described young female domestics as living in both a statistical limbo, and a legal limbo. This is because they constitute a new category of workers: in the past, before the days of the 'new poverty', it was not customary to send female children away to work in the households

21

of distant strangers. In Peru, as elsewhere, domestic work is not subject to regulation.

In its more regular home-based context, Galer pointed to a positive side of the traditional skills imparted to Peruvian girls and women. Their prominent role in family, domestic and household management inculcated a strong sense of identity from an early age. At a time when unemployment and economic hardship were undermining male self-esteem, this sense of themselves had sustained – even empowered – women, making them redoubtable community providers and activists. Their community kitchens reduced food costs, labour and time, while the men who had been laid off from the mines remained listless and demoralized. Here was another illustration of the fact that it is not necessarily the nature of work itself, but the circumstances and conditions under which it is performed which are exploitative and oppressive.

The isolation endured by so many child servants may be a more significant risk factor than the health and nutritional risks associated with hard work and poor diet. Given that such girls are often far from their homes in rural areas, and often obliged to remit money home, they are especially vulnerable to overwork, low pay or promised pay being withheld, to scoldings and beatings without recourse against exploitation or cruelty. Young female domestics also face the risk of sexual abuse by male members of the household. If this is discovered by a jealous wife, or if a girl becomes pregnant, she may be sent away from the house and from thence descend into street life and prostitution.

Seminar participants itemized a number of problems concerning the development of situation analyses on child domestics, including the difficulty of extrapolating relevant information from existing household survey data, and of opening a dialogue with employers. More information is needed about the 'push' factors which encourage families to supply girls to the domestic workforce, as well as the 'pull' factors of employer demand. Domestic servant associations, where they exist, may be important allies in developing a profile of the children, their families, and the mechanisms – especially where third parties are involved – which lead children into unprotected circumstances where they receive Cinderella treatment and have little chance of a fairytale escape.

Attention was drawn to the heavy domestic burden of many young girls within their own families. In Peru, and elsewhere in Latin America, this burden had recently increased as a result of economic distress and reductions in social services. In many families, girls and women forced to go out and earn were having to compensate not only for family income loss, but also for the loss in social service provision. The prospect of increasing vulnerability was also registered by Kitiya Phornsadja of UNICEF Bangkok, who feared that the recent banning of children from prostitution in Thailand coupled with anxiety about the AIDS virus might encourage men to turn to domestics instead of frequenting brothels for commercial sex with young girls.

Children in marginal or illegal work

These child workers are the most difficult of all to enumerate, to analyse and to reach. They include child prostitutes, children involved in drug trafficking, and those trapped by crime syndicates who induce them to pick-pocket, commit burglaries and hold-ups, or appear in pornographic print and media productions. Articles 33, 34 and 35 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child are particularly pertinent to such children.

Children whose habitat is the street may fall into one of these categories. Boys engaged in serious crime may become targets for assassination hit squads. Street girls are easy prey for recruitment into prostitution. In general, children in marginal or illegal occupations can be regarded as occupationally separated from their families, although there may be tacit or even occasionally active complicity by parents in, for example, entry into prostitution. This can be with foreknowledge; in other cases the handover of the girl for cash is induced by the offer of a 'good job in town' whose real nature is unclear.

In comparison to other groups of working children, those in marginal occupations face special hazards connected with the illegality of their work, and the high profits made by adults who exploit them. These may work together with corrupted officials and police, who therefore have no reason to provide the children with protection. The subculture in which

22

the children live contains a high level of violence, abuse and aggression – characteristics of behaviour that many children absorb, increasing the difficulty of gaining their cooperation in efforts to understand their predicament and assist their reintegration into 'normal' society.

The AIDS problem in many countries has increased the problem of child prostitution because the customers are requiring younger and younger girls.

Kitiya Phornsadja, UNICEF Bangkok

In addition to these special hazards, marginalized children face most of the health and educational deprivations of other working children, reinforced by the absence of adult guidance other than that provided by pimps, madams, police, and street or syndicate bosses. Like the isolated domestics, such children often suffer deep-seated deprivation from lack of affection and from the absence of an adult reference group engaging in socially positive and remunerated behaviour. They also face extra risks of trauma (from accidents and fights); sexually-transmitted disease (STD), including HIV infection; pregnancy; substance abuse; and psycho-social disorders.

Analysing the situation of such children requires an understanding of the forces – economic, social, cultural, attitudinal – which push children into marginalized living. Accurate information about backgrounds and motivation needs to be collected, with the help of the children themselves. Where drug trafficking occurs, information is needed about networks and trading routes. The demand side of child prostitution, particularly where sex tourism is involved, also needs exploring. Since criminality, ruthlessness and huge profit margins are hallmarks of rackets involving children, participants warned that collecting the information can be dangerous.

Convention on the Rights of the Child

Article 33:

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislative, administrative, social and educational measures, to protect children from the illicit use of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances as defined in the relevant international treaties, and to prevent the use of children in the illicit production and trafficking of such substances.

Article 34:

States Parties undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. For these purposes, States Parties shall in particular take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent:

(a) The inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity;
(b) The exploitative use of children in prostitution or other unlawful sexual practices;
(c) The exploitative use of children in pornographic performances and materials.

Article 35:

States Parties shall take all appropriate national, bilateral and multilateral measures to prevent the abduction of, the sale of or traffic in children for any purpose or in any form.

III. Mobilizing partnerships: from 'enemies' to 'allies'

Although the well-being of children is a universally appealing cause, there are many vested interests which support the perpetuation of child labour on and off the streets. Some of these may be natural targets of opprobrium: landlords of large estates; mining conglomerates; madams, pimps and brothel-owners; child abduction and 'employment' agents; employers whose interest in their workforce is confined to the cheapness of their hire and the servility of their behaviour; corrupt officials; violent and sexually-abusing policemen; child assassination squads; step-parents and parents who maltreat and exploit their offspring.

Others who strongly support the practice of child work should also – theoretically at least – be opposed: parents and guardians, and child workers themselves. Meanwhile, some of those who appear to belong in the category of child oppressors – as employers, business owners, police – have proved to be helpful campaigners against excessive and exploitative work by children. The media, which is often instrumental in exposing child exploitation and can therefore be an ally, also tends to polarize opinion in a way which creates confrontation and sometimes produces negative results.

We need to look for the 'human face' who is interested in working with us. We need to identify influential people; individuals are important as well as organizations.

Donald Kaminsky, Proyecto Alternativas, Honduras

Just as the line between child work that is good or benign and that which is exploitative is hard to draw, it is difficult to make definitive judgements about which categories of people are 'enemies' of child labour, and which are 'allies'. The need to convert potential enemies to allies in order to build alliances against exploitative child work was an important theme to emerge from the Seminar.

Victoria Rial, currently UNICEF's Project Officer for CEDC, presented to the Seminar a case study concerning the reduction of child labour in the *muro-ami* (deep-sea coral reef) fishing industry in the Philippines. The case study graphically illustrated the 'enemies' and 'allies' dichotomy. In 1986, television publicity led to an uproar in the Philippines about the use of young boys as deep-sea divers in the *muro-ami* fishing industry, and their low pay and poor living conditions. A delicate process was needed to arrive at a situation where their exploitation was reduced without damaging the lives of the very children and families that reformers and activists were trying to help.

At the suggestion of ILO, the Department of Labour and Employment launched an inquiry into *muro-ami* fishing. Interviews with the villagers who supplied the workforce showed that their livelihood depended on employment in the industry, and that they were strongly opposed to interference. The children enjoyed the thrill and prestige of the work in spite of the poor conditions, low pay and the risks. The villagers regarded the family who owned the business and made the profits as their benefactors, and greeted investigators on more than one occasion with angry placards and threats.

A Task Force on *muro-ami* fishing was set up. It was made up of representatives from NGOs: child rights organizations, environmental protection groups (*muro-ami* fishing is destructive to coral) and labour associations; from government, the Departments of Labour and Employment, and Agriculture; and from the international community, ILO and UNICEF. Because of the media exposure, there was intense pressure from some quarters to ban *muro-ami* fishing altogether. However, this was strongly resisted both by the villagers themselves, and by the powerful vested interests of the *muro-ami* owners and operators.

The police are part of the problem and part of the solution.

Jo Boyden, CEDC consultant

Using a low-key approach involving participation by all parties, including villagers and owners, a series of initiatives were taken. Children under the age of 18 were banned from the fleet, a secondary school was built, and parents trained in undertaking alternative income opportunities. Thus the main problems were solved by compromise and dialogue. More importantly, the communities have been able to upgrade their lives and shed some of their dependency on the *muro-ami* overlords and on their children's labour. A spirit of partnership was crucial to

Muro-ami Fishing: A Case Study

In 1986, a film called 'Slave Ships of the Sulu Sea' was shown on Australian and United States television and provoked an outcry in the Philippines. These *muro-ami* fishing boats from Cebu employed crews of up to 500, most of them between 12 and 17 years old.

The conditions on board were exploitative and hazardous. The boys spent 10 months a year at sea, cut off from home and schooling. The vessels were unsanitary and congested; food and water were poor and the boys suffered from frequent coughs, fevers and stomach upsets.

The working day was 12-15 hours long. Divers attached the nets to coral reefs at depths of up to 100 feet; swimmers drove the fish into them. Each season several divers were drowned and others suffered ruptured eardrums. All were vulnerable to attacks from needlefish and sharks. If they missed part of their work or needed medical treatment, pay was deducted.

At the end of the season, the money paid to each crew member was often insufficient to cover the deductions, and they were forced to sign up for another season to pay off the debt. The owners, who recouped almost all the profit, were however seen by the 22,000 villagers dependent on the industry as their benefactors. Their only complaint was against the recruiters.

When the *muro-ami* issue was taken up, there was disagreement among official agencies involved – the Department of Labour and the Department of Agriculture – over whether *muro-ami* should be banned outright. Not only were the powerful families and interests running the industry keen to sustain it, but so also were the 8,000 employees and 22,000 dependents. Eventually an approach which permitted the survival of the *muro-ami* industry but banned child labour from it won the day.

The number of children under the age of 18 employed on the *muro-ami* boats dropped from 700 in 1987 to 50 in 1989. Services in the community have been improved. Small-scale industries – soap-making, weaving, hog-raising – have been introduced to provide families with alternative sources of income.

Conditions on board the ships have been improved by the owners, who were prepared to concede to inspection and enforce the ban on child labour in preference to an outright ban.

Ultimately, both for environmental and humanitarian reasons, abolition of *muro-ami* fishing would be best; but not until the dependent communities have viable and enduring alternative livelihoods. In the meantime a population bound into a system of virtual debt bondage, including cooperation in the exploitation of their children, has been partially released.

this outcome, as was the careful avoidance of 'good guy' and 'bad guy' labels.

Some Seminar participants were less sanguine than others about the practicalities of converting enemies to allies. The participants from Thailand, Kenya and the Philippines, where the police practise brutality and sexual harassment against working children and are often complicit in exploitation rackets, regarded conversion of this 'enemy' as highly desirable but remote. However, the participant from Jordan, a sociologist employed by a self-respecting police department, presented an alternative position.

Seminar participants reminded themselves that every official, every factory owner, every policeman,

every trafficker, is a human being; the challenge is to find ways of touching a person's humanitarian core and self-interest by strategic persuasion.

Partnerships for Situation Analysis

The need for a range of partners starts at the very outset of the programming cycle, at the time of the situation analysis and not merely as an outcome of it.

Many of the participants at the Innocenti Seminar recorded their support for a broader approach to situation analysis than the methodology whereby an academic or policy institute is commissioned to produce a finished analysis. The involvement of a wider range of actors was seen as imperative; at one end of the spectrum this should include communities and street and working children; at the other end, additional United Nations (UN) partners must be brought into the picture so that the situation analysis can be 'owned' by the whole UN system and government and non-governmental partners. Situation analysis was seen as an ongoing activity. The situation analysis could never be 'finished' and set in stone, but should be regarded as a set of dynamic informational parameters requiring revision as programmes advanced.

From the UNICEF perspective, a number of new or unusual partners were needed in the collection of information about street and working children. Some of these were already working with the ILO; similarly, NGOs had better access than others – notably and because of their frontline position in working directly with beneficiaries – to families and children themselves. Seminar working groups identified a number of such partners to be enlisted. These included Departments of Labour, Agriculture and Fisheries, Youth and Recreation, and Social Welfare; employers, including private, company and public owners of plantations, mines, fleets, hotels, factories, transport; service-delivery NGOs, such as those running child welfare institutions, schools, clinics; NGOs representing group and individual rights, such as trade unions, women's organizations, child rights organizations; donor groups operating through an NGO, intergovernmental groups; the police and judiciary; professional bodies such as lawyers' associations; university and policy research institutions; churches and religious bodies; and the media.

Each country situation and occupational setting will require a different cast of partners; some may join the alliance at a later stage than the initial situation analysis. Much will depend on where the driving initiative, and funds for subsequent programming, come from. In the case of *muro-ami* in the Philippines, the driving force was the media and the then new Aquino government which was strongly committed to children's rights. In the case of Mexico City, the initiative came from the Municipal Authority and UNICEF. In Bangladesh, the creation of a Child's Rights Forum following the government's early endorsement of the Convention on the Rights of the Child provided a positive climate for addressing the situation of street and working children and an umbrella for partnership development.

The situation analysis is important not only as a guide to subsequent programming, but for consciousness-raising among affected groups and the public at large. If the participation of potential 'enemy' partners has been elicited at a preliminary stage, they may be less defensive – and obstructive – as a result of subsequent advocacy. The case of Olongapo City in the Philippines was cited. The involvement of children in its entertainment industry was internationally notorious. But a low-key, diplomatic approach facilitated the Mayor's and the Municipality's support for an imaginative programme to protect child workers. This included community-based data collection on vulnerable children and families, and municipally-sanctioned registration for working children.

Partnerships for Project Activity

Most projects to address the situation of child workers and street children have been developed and run by NGOs based in the community. Many of these experiences – in non-formal education, primary health care, rehabilitation of children in marginal occupations, and interventions with families for prevention – can be used to inform policy and programme development. Some NGOs have a tendency to remain boxed into their own small universes; they need to be linked into networks within and between countries to share information with each other and with non-NGO partners.

Considerable time in the Seminar was devoted to discussing how the activities of NGOs fitted in to the search for 'scale' on behalf of working children. Much is made of the need for replicability in project work in order to develop mass intervention strategies for reaching large numbers of beneficiaries cost-effectively. However, some Seminar participants believed that judging individual projects for working children against the criterion of replicability could be inappropriate. Many such projects were 'jewel boxes': they offered inspiration, enriched programmatic knowledge, but by their nature were small and self-contained, only directly reaching a few hundred beneficiaries. These could never be translated into mass interventions, and it was a mistake to misinterpret their success and try to do so.

NGOs do valuable work; but if governments do nothing to help, there is no progress. The ground gained by NGOs can be lost or undermined by what the government is doing in other contexts.

Victor Ordonez, UNESCO

To other participants, denying the doctrine of project replicability was heresy. The current quest for models of sustainable development has put individualistic, one-off projects into professional eclipse, dismissing many as 'PPPs' – permanent pilot projects. If the PPP or jewel box is not replicable, not cast in the mould of sustainability, then why study it, applaud it, or continue to support it? But on this basis, much of the best voluntary work in the world would have to be condemned as irrelevant. Replicability and sustainability in many development contexts are elusive concepts at best.

Donald Kaminsky, a Seminar resource person from Proyecto Alternativas in Tegucigalpa, pointed out that jewel-box projects can have an important indirect role in service expansion. Publicity about them may inspire more such interventions; thus multiplication may come about not as a mass phenonemon but as an expanding patchwork quilt of different interventions among different population groups for different clients. NGO projects are often launched and sustained by a dedicated individual motivated to help a certain target group; since working with damaged and exploited children requires special personal qualities, jewel boxes have a vital role to play and must be allowed a place within any partnership strategy.

It is also the case that while jewel-box approaches may not be replicable in their entirety, they may contain elements which are extractable and applicable in the context of policy development or wider-scale interventions by government services. The use of 'street educators' – pioneered by NGO projects in Latin America – is now widely copied; and there are other ingredients of non-formal education programmes carried out on train station platforms and in market alleyways – curricula, textbooks, educator training – which can be adapted, or even imported wholesale into larger programmes. The same has not yet happened for 'street health' – but it will.

Some projects have helped to explode myths which have significant implications for policy-making. For example, the discovery by the ILO-supported Smokey Mountain scheme that extreme family poverty might not be the only factor leading a child to work on the rubbish dump enables other projects to avoid making the same initial mistakes (as, for instance, job schemes for parents which were based on unproven assumptions). The discovery that only a small proportion of street children are genuinely on their own, as in Mexico City, may help to de-emphasize shelter provision in favour of preventive community action.

Motivation begins in small projects, with one person in a small place. What we need to do is to learn from them, not dismiss them as limited.

William Myers, ILO

Impatience with the limited reach of PPPs is however justified when the scale of the working child problem is taken into account, as well as the difficulty – recognized by all participants – of finding major new resources at a time of universal budgetary constraint. Therefore, the creative development of networks and the use of partners' goodwill and existing human resources may have to provide a substitute strategy for expanding service-delivery interventions. Proyecto Alternativas, for example, has linked up with private medical, dental and psychiatric partners offering free services in 'street clinics'. University

social work departments can be enlisted at low cost to develop street educator training and curriculum development.

We need to find new ways to mobilize resources. We must get away from: 'The rich get richer and the poor get more self-reliant and pay for more of the services'.

Jim Himes, ICDC, Florence

International donor organizations such as UNICEF may be disinclined to commit considerable resources to projects on behalf of street and working children. It was regrettable from the perspective of Seminar participants that, as yet, CEDC has not been given the attention warranted by its presence among the seven major World Summit Goals. (ILO has, however, recently launched a new high-profile Inter-departmental Project on the Elimination of Child Labour.) Organizational and governmental priorities may change; however, in the meantime for UNICEF at least, a networking and coordinating function between NGOs and other partners may be the optimal means of assisting service delivery at low cost.

Links can be forged between CEDC projects and other sectors. Programmes in community development, urban basic services, household food security, and water supply can adjust their programme design to target the families of working children, out-of-school youth, and for the relief of child workload burdens. The UNICEF office in Bangladesh has already taken steps in this direction. At both the international level and within countries, links can be developed or reinforced on behalf of working children with fellow organizations in the UN system, including UNESCO, WHO and FAO, as well as other major donors.

Partnerships and Advocacy

Advocacy on behalf of working children was regarded by the Seminar as of paramount importance. The historical role of public opinion in mobilizing society behind changes in law and in practice towards children cannot be overstated. Modern mass media have played a vital part in raising public consciousness about the plight of working children, as was demonstrated by the *muro-ami* case study. Various films and videos were presented throughout the ten-day Seminar period. Among these, *Pixote*, a searing Brazilian feature film about a runaway street boy, was of seminal importance in the early 1980s as a modern consciousness-raising equivalent of Charles Dickens' 'Oliver Twist' of an earlier era. The media, including the arts and entertainment industry, are vital partners for advocacy on behalf of children.

The other natural advocacy partners are human rights organizations, particularly those active on behalf of children's rights. Other organizations representing group interests can, surprisingly, be unhelpful. Trade unions have often proved reluctant to take up the causes of child workers, mainly because they see their cheapness and malleability as a threat to their own memberships' interests. Ways must be found to break down their resistance.

Participants from Africa also recorded a lack of interest from women's organizations. Khadiatou Ly, CEDC Officer in UNICEF Bamako, had failed to enlist women's organizations on behalf of child domestic workers: the women were employers of domestics and Ly believed that until the democratization process in Mali was further advanced, attempts to sensitize them would make slow progress. Ezra Mbgori, Director of the Undugu Society of Kenya, similarly reported that efforts to place street and working children on the agenda of the Kenyan women's movement *Maendeleo wa Wanawake* had so far proved fruitless. By contrast, Nora Galer of UNICEF Lima described how the women's movement in Peru had been restimulated after a fallow period by consciousness-raising on the plight of working girls and had become strong advocates on their behalf.

Governments, whose members' interests are often closely linked with or identical to those of landlords and employers, tend to be reluctant to take up the child labour cause. However, international publicity – as in the recent exposure of child prostitution in Thailand and concerning the burgeoning rate of HIV infection among girls – can prompt major policy changes: after years of official tolerance, prostitution of Thai girls under 15 has recently been banned. Unfortunately, where such radical policy change is made for political reasons without careful planning, it may exacerbate exploitation by pushing it underground. Kitiya Phornsadja of UNICEF Bangkok

described how one young girl had asked the Thai Prime Minister what she and 140,000 other underage prostitutes were now supposed to live on?

People say: 'we don't need more legislation'. Be careful! Legislation provides an opportunity for public advocacy and campaigning.

Lee Swepston, ILO

A number of recent government initiatives on behalf of children's rights, in particular new protective legislation and programmes for street children, have been inspired by the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Ratifying States – as for the 1973 ILO Convention on the Minimum Age of Employment – are obliged to report on legislative, policy and programme progress, and this can be used as an advocacy pressure point.

Although international legal instruments are not enforceable in the same way as national laws, there are independent mechanisms for monitoring governments' records in living up to their commitments, which NGOs and trade union movements can activate. In the case of ILO conventions, this process was explained to the Seminar by Lee Swepston of the ILO Standards Department. Some UNICEF country offices have been highly effective in pressing governments to ratify the Convention and in presenting its provisions as a framework for child-related policy and programme development.

Advocacy on behalf of working children may have legislative and policy change as its main target; but also urgently needed is a change of attitudes within society which tolerate child exploitation, failing to see it or actively helping to render it invisible. Such attitudes enable abuses against children to go unpunished, and to continue without serious ill-repute clinging to their perpetrators. Many countries have legislation which could be applied to protect working children but which is often ignored.
Where the law is applied, sentences imposed – on employers, on abusers – can be so light as to make a mockery of the legislation's intention. If so many potential allies were less apathetic, existing legislation would not simply remain unused or be applied so ineffectually.

The question: 'Now, who is going to love these children?' has to be part of our professional debate.

William Myers, ILO

The creation of a 'grand alliance for working children' must swell the ranks of those who believe that every child's right to a childhood really does mean **every** child, and not just those who are neat, clean, well-behaved, who smile and look endearing. In many settings this will require a revolution in attitudes – a revolution which embraces not only employers and policy makers but child workers and their families, and which cannot be secured overnight.

IV. Programme Issues and the Working Child

The programming approach favoured by the Seminar was characterized by a word injected into the proceedings by William Myers: 'multi-pronged'.

Programming approaches designed to meet the multiplicity of needs faced by children and families – not just one need, such as health care – are often multisectoral; and many of the projects discussed during the Seminar are active on several fronts: on the streets, in communities, with families and with institutional structures. Many form a bridge between the expression of needs by children and families – for jobs, credit, shelter, and protection from the police, for example – and groups or services run by NGOs and government which try to meet these needs. In this linking process, children and parents may not just become 'better-off' physically; but may gain self-confidence and experience in successfully dealing with daily and perennial hardship.

Programming for street and working children, however, needs to not only embrace many sectors but to transcend sectors. It needs to be fixed within the policy and legislative context, and in the context of macro social and economic trends such as the impact of structural adjustment and the pursuit of democratization and social equity. Without this wider framework, programmes and projects will address only symptoms and repair only existing casualties; they will not address the underlying causes propelling more children into streets and workplaces. As Donald Kaminsky pointed out, many children "come and go" depending on the fluctuating partnership and economic fortunes of parents and communities. And everywhere there are new waves of child entrants into work – a trend that needs to be prevented from building up at the source.

> ***Street children's circumstances can change rapidly. From one day to another, one week to another, the child may be dressed like a spiv, and then show up shabby, shoeless, and to all appearances abandoned.***
>
> Donald Kaminsky, Proyecto Alternativas, Honduras

In service delivery, certain problems of working children have to be addressed within sectors and by professionals in those sectors: health, for example, and education. Others cut across all sectors: issues relating to gender, for instance, and children's participation in data-gathering, service delivery, and advocacy. Yet others go beyond the normal programming framework: children in conflict with the law, for example. Preventive approaches will be focused on families – particularly women providers – and communities, and therefore will tend to fall within basic services and income-generating schemes, both rural and urban.

Considerable debate took place around the question of whether CEDC – of whom street and working children form a category – should be treated as a separate programming sector with its own budget; or whether it was preferable to put CEDC under the umbrella of another sector, such as urban basic services. Nazar Memon from UNICEF Kenya advocated the first alternative on the basis that without separate recognition CEDC as a category will lack clout and specific resource allocation. Administrative arrangements in UNICEF offices vary; in Burundi, CEDC fall under basic education, but Marilena Viviani, the Project Officer, pointed out that education was a poor relation to child health and survival in terms of budgetary attention. Whatever the structure, UNICEF participants were agreed that street and working children should not be allowed to become a programme 'ghetto', but that programmers in all sectors should regard them as among their priority target beneficiaries. As with 'women in development', there should be a mix of mainstream and targeted action.

> ***One of our early mistakes was that we thought we could work just with the children. But there was no way of getting to the child without going through their parents.***
>
> Donald Kaminsky, Proyecto Alternativas, Honduras

Emphasis was continually placed on the use of international and national agreements – the World Summit Goals, National Progammes of Action, ILO and human rights conventions, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child – as frameworks for policy and programme development as well as for advocacy and legislative change. The need to design projects and programmes to embrace children's active participation was another important underlying theme.

Proyecto Alternativas

The success of 'child survival' means that an increasing number of children are today growing up into their pre-teens and adolescence. Unhappily, their well-being is not guaranteed after the age of five simply because they have survived the vulnerability of early childhood. Poverty and the cost of schooling are pushing more and more children into the informal urban workforce where their health and safety are under different kinds of threat. This perception and the need to develop a service structure to protect and support these children's well-being is the impulse which underlies Projecto Alternativas in Tegucigalpa, Honduras.

The project aims to reduce the multiple risks associated with a working life on the streets, while also addressing the problems of abandoned children living on the streets. It provides an alternative to the provision of services to a limited group of children within a closed-door or institutional setting. Collaborators include UNICEF, the Junta Nacional de Bienestar Social, the National Autonomous University of Honduras, the Ministry of Health, and many non-profit private agencies. The sponsor is the Tulane School of Public Health.

The emphasis is on preventive and promotive health, and education, within the context of first entry level care in an integrated social services support system. The child is targeted as the main beneficiary, but the family unit is included.

Activities comprise:

- **Continuous study of the group (2,003 children);**
- **Group health education (11 weekly events);**
- **Recreational events and sports clubs;**
- **Meals for nutritionally high-risk children;**
- **Primary health care, by referral from street educator to physician and nurse; first aid on the street;**
- **Community mobile library;**
- **Remedial educational support;**
- **Health care (including STDs and drug abuse therapy) for abandoned street children.**

The Health of Working Children

Health problems of street and working children fall into three categories: problems related to poverty, to living in the crowded and squalid conditions of urban slum settlements; problems related to specific workplaces and occupations, such as chemical poisoning and dust inhalation; and problems relating to street work and street life. The Seminar focused principally on the last category, and drew upon a draft report prepared for UNICEF by Mark Connolly: *Survivors: The Health of Street Children and Youth*, a compilation of data from NGOs around the world. It was also noted that WHO is undertaking research into drug addiction among street children and project responses to this problem in a number of countries.

> ***The community is not the place to address the health of work of children. They are not at home much and their ties with the community are weak. Street facilities yes, but we also need facilities in the workplace.***
>
> Jo Boyden, CEDC consultant

A consolidated list of issues emerged from the key presentations and discussion. These were: the need to obtain better information about the health

31 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

problems of working children, including information about the invisible workers in factories, sweatshops and in domestic employment, and about the special problems of girls; the need to address vulnerability to the AIDS virus and other STDs; the need to gain access to health services by street children, and to encourage the children to use them; the lack of attention currently given to mental health; how to find a balance between NGO activity and government services; and how to intervene at low cost.

One of the main insights to emerge from the Seminar was that psychological and psycho-social disorders, caused by stress, emotional deprivation, and the nature of street life, needed to be brought within the remit of 'primary street care'. This was brought out by Donald Kaminsky, Director of Proyecto Alternativas in Tegucigalpa, whose programme is unusual in that it is health-based (although 'multi-pronged'). He reminded participants that the aim of programmes directed at street children, whether institution-based or street-based, is to rehabilitate them and reintegrate them in society; but that efforts tend to concentrate solely on the acquisition of vocational skills and social rehabilitation without at the same time providing psychological rehabilitation. This failure may account for children's persistent rejection of institutions and their poor achievement records.

Among hard-core street children in Tegucigalpa there had been certain problems, all of which had profound health implications, and the severity of which took the Proyecto Alternativas team by surprise. These were: the degree of children's aggression towards each other and to outsiders; their level of substance abuse; and their engagement in sexual activity with each other and for money. Among this group (5 per cent of the 2,000 children reached by the programme), these behavioural characteristics led to a high risk of trauma from wounds and accidents; toxicity from drugs and alcohol; and a high prevalence of STDs, including HIV infection. Interestingly, malnutrition was not a major problem. This finding was borne out by the experience in Mexico City, where the assumption that children on the streets were badly malnourished proved faulty.

Among children who worked on the street but lived with their families, Kaminsky reported that environmental health problems predominated: skin problems and respiratory infections (the former were more common but the latter better reported because they more often became chronic); allergic rhinitis (a nasal complaint); and dental problems. Many children also suffered the standard deprivations of poverty, including malnutrition. Proyecto Alternativas had developed a 'street primary health care' approach to address these problems, which combined prevention with early treatment, follow-up and referral of serious sickness to professional care. The problems of both encouraging children – via their families or on their own – to seek care, and of persuading health facilities to provide it are standard obstacles encountered by most projects aimed at street children.

'Proyecto Alternativas' is so called because its approaches are non-institution-based. It uses no permanent physical structures: every activity is carried out in the open or in borrowed spaces and buildings. Apart from the informality which builds relationships of confidence between project workers, children and families, this has helped to keep costs low. Teams of workers – street educators, social workers, counsellors – work in male/female pairs with groups of between 15 and 60 children. Around two thirds of their time is spent on the street, and much of the rest of it in people's homes.

Health activities follow the primary health care pattern, emphasizing prevention, treatment of minor complaints, and referral to state services of more serious illnesses. Lunches are provided to undernourished children. Healthy living is a main component of street education, and the children are encouraged to take health messages – made up into posters – home to their parents and communicate them to peers; thus there are indirect as well as direct beneficiaries. All workers are trained in first aid so that they can treat injuries and act as a primary health care extension service, making sure that children who are advised or treated are followed up. Special 'clinics' are held for dental treatment, and for substance-abusing children. Counselling is given about STDs and AIDS, and condoms are distributed.

Kaminsky believes that there is as yet no 'state of the art' in developing a framework for street-based child health care. The right balance between exten-

sion and the use of state facilities – between going out to find children and encouraging them to seek help – is still conjectural. How to provide rehabilitation for children with a history of substance abuse and psycho-social disorder is a major problem. Effective treatment, in Kaminsky's view, needs the professional involvement of psychologists and psychiatrists and this requires a high level of resources. At a more general public health level, sports and recreation can help prevent problems such as low self-esteem and learning difficulties from deteriorating into self-destructive and anti-social behaviour.

The Undugu Society of Kenya's approach to street and working child health has taken a rather different route. Proyecto Alternativas targets the community and families through and alongside the street child but the primary focus is the health of the children; Undugu's health activities are mainly community-based. As in an urban basic services programme, they are primarily preventive: Undugu tries to improve the quality of life in the slums to reduce family stress and stop children from leaving home.

Undugu's current health activities stem from specific emergencies or problems which have arisen in the three slum communities where their efforts are concentrated. The first came about in response to a cholera outbreak, which made explicit the health risks of living in an extremely insanitary environment. Community health volunteers were trained in hygiene and disease prevention; and when it became clear that little would happen without incentives, they were given preferential access to credit and income-generating efforts. Sanitation has subsequently been promoted, as has 'urban agriculture' on disused land to combat the poor nutritional status of children associated with increased economic hardship.

Ezra Mbgori, Undugu's Director, admitted to the Seminar that Undugu – which originally came into being to help Nairobi's 'parking boys' – had for years been reluctant to do anything for girls. The possibility that girls in Undugu's care might become pregnant had been off-putting. "For a long time we used the excuse that girls were engaging in the business of sex, and therefore that they were in control of their situation. We now realize how wrong we were in assuming that they knew about their bodies and how to take care of themselves". The Undugu health team is now active in health education among 12 to 15 year-old girls and is fully aware of the vulnerability of girls to sexual exploitation, abuse and HIV infection. Early pregnancy is also a problem, contributing to a high drop-out rate from Undugu's education schemes among girls of secondary school age.

Mbgori was not optimistic about Undugu's success in communicating the dangers of HIV infection and how to avoid it through health education messages – although efforts had been made. Youngsters had been given the false impression by older prostitutes that the AIDS virus was like Russian roulette: whether or not you contracted the virus was simply a matter of chance. It was very difficult to dislodge the fatalistic attitude such false information engendered. But a strong impression had been made by an Undugu boy suffering from AIDS, who had asked that all his friends be summoned to his death-bed to be warned against repeating his own mistakes.

This anecdote illustrated an important theme to emerge: the use of peers as street health care promoters. Children used to an unusual degree of independent daily living are distrustful of injunctions from figures in authority promoting health and self-care, as in so many other areas of their lives. Teresita Silva described the workings of a city-wide street child primary health care project in Metro Manila, in which children have demonstrated their capabilities at first aid and as communicators for preventive and protective health. They go case-finding, can recognize complaints, and one child will recommend another's assistance. They also refer children to designated health centres; but it takes time to overcome children's reluctance to undergo treatment, or their unwillingness to return for follow-up checks.

When we held a forum on AIDS for high schools, the children themselves formed health committees. They came and asked for information booklets and condoms, and carried out the distribution.

Khadiatou Ly, UNICEF Mali

The engagement of older working children in preventive health care takes on particular importance in the context of their nurturing role towards younger siblings. Their parents' long absences for work means that many are the primary carers of children in

the under-five age group; many siblings are included in the clientele of Proyecto Alternativas, whose youngest member was one month old. 'Street health care' can therefore be a vehicle for bringing at-risk toddlers and young children within reach of vaccination and other public health interventions.

The problem of HIV infection among children, particularly among girls living from commercial sex, was highlighted by Kitiya Phornsadja from Thailand. "These girls have no control over their health and welfare at all. Interviews with brothel owners indicate that customers are very unwilling to use condoms. Teaching the girls about self-protection and providing condoms is useless if they are beaten up when they refuse to give the service requested". Between 60 and 70 per cent of girls in Thai brothels are now HIV-infected. Jo Boyden pointed out that public health campaigns about HIV infection can inadvertently increase risks for under-age girls; men may seek younger girls because they are less likely to be infected, pushing the age of girls involved in commercial sex downwards.

Although the broader subject of occupational health was not specifically covered, William Myers reminded the Seminar that it should not be overlooked. A considerable body of knowledge exists concerning, for example, the dangers of silicosis in pencil-making and the back deformities associated with carpet-weaving. Children in hazardous occupations such as these often remain unprotected by health regulations and safety standards in the workplace, either because the regulations do not exist or are ignored. Expertise in this area is available from WHO and ILO, and efforts to advocate workplace health protection by law and in practice are needed.

Education for All

The main Seminar presentation on education for street and working children was made by Victor Ordonez, the Director of UNESCO's Division for Basic Education. This was helpful to participants in providing an insight into UNESCO's contribution to reaching street and working children as part of the international commitment to 'Education for All', a goal which was elevated on the global agenda by the 1990 World Education Conference in Jomtien, Thailand. In particular, the World Bank's commitment to basic and elementary education – to which it has multiplied its contribution threefold in the past few years – has helped to legitimize concern for underschooled and out-of-school youngsters. To UNESCO, the situation of street and working children is significant because they represent a large proportion of the children under this heading.

As presented by Ordonez, the context of this growing problem was rapid urbanization and increasing urban poverty. By the year 2000, 50 per cent of the poor would be living in towns and cities compared to 27 per cent in 1970, and the number of street children was rising proportionately. (Ordonez' perspectives were confined to the urban sector, and did not make a distinction between children who were working members of their families, and abandoned children living on the streets.) The numbers of children not in primary school, some 100 million, are also rising. Of the present cohort entering elementary school, only six out of ten complete their studies, with the other four joining the street workforce or becoming 'out of school youth'.

Do we try and use non-formal education to get children back unto the regular school system, or teach them what they need to survive day to day? Some organizations say: 'Back to school'. Others say: 'Forget school'.

Victor Ordonez, UNESCO

In these circumstances, if 'Education for All' really means what it says, there have to be new definitions about the nature of basic education and how it can be provided. The task was perceived as one of reaching out-of-school children and bringing them into some form of educational structure; and therefore of designing an appropriate policy and pedagogical framework.

UNESCO has fostered a large number of case studies of projects undertaking non-formal and street-based education. The best of these will, when fully analysed, provide a body of 'best practice' pedagogical experience. A number of key issues have been identified: choices in curriculum content – the balance between knowledge and skills, schooling and apprenticeship; how to inspire and motivate pupils, whether – and how – to fix content within the street

child's existing environment and working needs; how to define 'classroom' groups, taking into account a variety of ages and existing achievement levels among out-of-schoolers; how to train street teachers and provide them with professional guidance; and how the non-formal effort should be linked to the formal education system.

This last was the issue most prominently taken up by participants, both as a policy question and operationally; answers to other questions about curriculum content, training of educators, constitution of classes, hours of 'street schooling', and status of non-formal qualifications and syllabi, are affected by this vital aspect. The crux of the matter is: Should non-formal education for out-of-schoolers who are responding to other compelling forces in their own and their families' lives be seen as a separate structure responding solely to their needs; or should it primarily be regarded as a stepping-stone back into regular school? In many environments, as Marilena Viviani from Burundi underlined, if there is no transit back to the proper classroom then non-formal education, or education which does not elevate learning, will be characterized as second-class and valued by parents and children accordingly.

This question appeared unresolvable: there is no orthodoxy other than that all children have a right to and need for education. The motivation of students and parents in different settings will have a major part to play; students vote with their feet to drop out even more freely in the non-formal setting than in regular primary school. The need to work with communities, to identify school hours, subjects, proximity and other lifestyle parameters which will promote favourable attitudes among parents, was emphasized by participants from Bangladesh and Vietnam.

A problem identified by Victor Ordonez and many other participants was the current attitude of ministries of education towards the non-formal sector. They have a tendency to feel overburdened by their existing responsibilities, and to view all efforts on behalf of street children, even educational efforts, as belonging outside their own remit, to the preserve of social welfare. NGOs have achieved significant successes; but however valuable their work, it cannot go far without the backing and involvement of government, including the education sector. Advocacy is needed to bring NGOs into a partnership with government, and to try to claim a small corner of the educational budget and terrain on behalf of non-formal activities. In this context, UNICEF, with its greater field experience and decentralized structure, and UNESCO's network in the formal educational world both have an important role to play.

The Seminar heard from a variety of participants about experiences in alternative education for deprived or out-of-school youth: whatever other services projects for street and working children provide, education is invariably a component. Cornelio Marchan, Executive President of the Fundación Esquel of Quito, Ecuador, emphasized the need to develop children's practical skills – in essence, the traditional response to the educationally backward. He cited an establishment run by the Silesian Fathers, highly regarded in Ecuador, which provides a five-year training and educational 'outside track' for street children who cannot be reintegrated with their families; and an 'alternative' secondary school run by Esquel itself which bases learning around mini-enterprises in production and marketing. This has been recognized by the Ministry of Education and UNESCO as a model for non-formal education.

The Undugu Society of Kenya tries to provide children working on the streets with a scaled-down and abridged three-year version of the basic book learning and life skills they would have received in a normal school, while addressing needs in other parts of their lives and the lives of their families. Children who go on to an optional fourth year learn rudimentary vocational skills. If they wish to take these further, they must find an artisan who agrees to take them on for a year's training; this is based on the medieval system of apprenticeship and solves the problem of post-training job placement which plagues many vocational schemes.

Children are very concerned about how others see them. One boy took our cheque to school to pay his fees, but it was not accepted. He had erased 'Parking Boys Account' because he did not want to be known as a street boy.

Ezra Mbgori, Undugu Society, Kenya

Ezra Mbgori is convinced that the fuller provision of schooling would solve 60 per cent of Kenya's street child problem; that many children are out of school simply because the formal system cannot absorb them.

He believes that it is essential to expand alternative schooling for disadvantaged children in slum areas, but is frustrated by a Ministry of Education which is not willing to recognize that the basic essentials of reading, writing, arithmetical calculation and life skills constitute a curriculum; nor the professional qualifications of his 'community school' teachers.

In Thailand, the Ministry of Education provides a non-formal educational programme in eight provinces to children working in various enterprises and industries. Kitiya Phornsadja's example of alternative schooling illustrated the case where the purpose was to help children whose occupation kept them out of school to keep their education going.

This programme was aimed at teenage fishermen who are away at sea for up to four months at a time. The trawler owners cooperate; 'education boxes' are taken on board at the start of each ocean-going voyage. The syllabus provides general education and life experience skills, including health education (especially protection against STDs and HIV/AIDS). The boys keep up their studies because they want to pass exams and enter higher education: they want to 'graduate' from the sea into qualified or professional employment, not to become fishing entrepreneurs or artisans.

The variety of experience brought to the debate illustrated forcefully the difficulty of identifying prescriptive strategies for reaching the goal of 'Education for All'. Bringing more working children into street classrooms, factory classrooms, workshop classrooms, multigrade classrooms, community classrooms, and regular classrooms but with special curricula, requires

Undugu Society of Kenya: Basic Education

Undugu regards children on the street as children who have by definition been denied their basic right to education – a disadvantage in life which Undugu tries to make good. Basic education has been from the organization's inception a fundamental activity.

Undugu runs four 'community schools' for 700 children altogether, based in the slums in which it concentrates its overall programme. The curriculum condenses the regular primary syllabus into three years of basic learning. In the fourth year students are exposed to vocational skills, and encouraged to join the informal sector in the skill of their choice.

Undugu also runs five schools for children who earn their living collecting scrap. These *machuma* schools serve 145 pupils, who attend for half-days only to allow time for their scrap-collecting enterprises. The focus is mostly on numeracy to enable the children to avoid exploitation by scrap dealers.

A third educational support scheme consists of school sponsorship. Needy families can apply for financial assistance to help meet the costs of fees, uniforms, shoes, or other essentials for their school-aged children. Parents are expected to offset some of the costs themselves, and are organized into groups for income-generating activities and savings. In 1991, 391 students received stipends, mostly to attend primary school.

Undugu can cite a number of success stories from its education programmes. Four recent graduates from one of the community schools teamed up after their vocational year and started the 'Rambo Garage'. Today, each of them has a monthly income of $100-135: enough to support themselves and their families.

responses tuned to infinitely varied socio-economic, occupational, motivational and childhood settings. However, the wealth of experience to be drawn upon, especially given the UNESCO and UNICEF commitments towards synthesizing and disseminating 'best practice', represents not so much a jewel box as a jewel mine. This will no doubt be exploited by participants in future.

In Kaduna, 22 street children were given scholarships to go to a private school. In school they were depressed. But when they were out of school they wore their uniforms in the market – and felt very important.

Miguel Ugalde, UNICEF Nigeria

The State, Legal Systems and Children

A number of countries have embarked upon reviews of legislation affecting children and youth since the passage of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The laws include those concerning the regulation of children in employment (age, parental consent, restricted occupations, working hours and conditions); juvenile crime and the institutionalization of children; age of sexual consent and marriage; and children's rights in relation to custody.

These reviews are geared towards improving the legal protection provided for the child. Some countries – notably the Philippines – have also gone on to consider ways of ensuring that working children have access to this protection via the juvenile justice system. For children on the street, the concept of protection includes the diversion of children from a descent into crime, and appropriate responses of the police and courts to children who are potential or actual delinquents. Many participants emphasized the need to enable citizens to learn about their existing rights under the law, and to reduce their sense of fear and lack of self-confidence about what 'the law' will do to them.

Once again, Seminar participants repeated the need to use the Convention on the Rights of the Child to start or reinforce a process of legal review, as well as official and public sensitization; also the need to call governments to account in relation to their status *vis à vis* relevant ILO and human rights conventions, either to facilitate endorsement or effect their application.

From a programming perspective, a main issue at the Seminar related to the causes and nature of delinquency, and the reaction of law enforcement officers to street children engaged in activities which were potentially or actually delinquent. Programmes in many countries have planned or carried out special training courses for the police to encourage them to deal with children more humanely (the Philippines, Thailand, Kenya and West Africa). However, one country represented, notably Jordan, is unusual in actually deploying the police as front-line workers with street children. For some participants this was a difficult concept because it seemed rooted in ideas which cast the children primarily as delinquents, truants, and a social menace – ideas which many are struggling to replace.

Sabri Rheihat of the Directorate of Public Security in Amman explained that the approach was guided by pragmatism: the police were occupationally involved on the street, and were therefore in a position to develop relationships with street children and monitor their behaviour. Other street populations – hustlers, prostitutes, drug addicts, criminals – fell into the category of dangerous influences as far as children were concerned, and were perceived as among the hazards they might negotiate well or badly.

We must motivate the police by saying: 'This is a potentially criminal group. Help us deal with their problems and you will have a safer environment. You won't have to keep your hand on the pistol in your pocket'.

Rosemary Husin, UNICEF Dhaka

Initial contact between the police and the children, most of whom come from refugee families, led to visits from social workers to their homes and case work follow-up. Many families were eligible for assistance from a special fund. Around 1,800 children and families were reached by the programme, which aimed to rebuild the family as guide, carer and reference point for the child. Political backing for the programme at the highest level – from Crown Prince Hassan – had undoubtedly helped commandeer resources and put the necessary policy changes into place.

Seminar interest in the Jordanian experience focused on the police retraining and sensitization process and the reasons why it had been successful. In Metro Manila, special training sessions for groups of policemen had also started in 1988, but Teresita Silva definitely regarded the Filipino police as 'enemies' rather than 'partners' of children. Low pay, the crime-busting culture and macho self-image of the police made change difficult. Violence and sexual harassment were still common, as in Thailand, Kenya and Brazil.

We asked the police department to help us take in 60 girls for STD tests. 45 were infected. We subsequently tested the police, and we could identify almost exactly from the results which policeman arrested which girl.

Ezra Mbgori, Undugu Society, Kenya

In Jordan, the use of police in the street child programme had necessitated radical adjustments in the training syllabus. When the daily work of the police was analysed, policy makers were confronted with the fact that 90 per cent of calls on police time could be characterized as social work. Only 2 per cent involved apprehending criminals. Therefore social and communications skills were introduced into police training, as was information on children and young people. Early performance of new entrants is monitored to ensure that children are not beaten up, or detained without proper procedures. Rheihat believed that police motivation to behave in a non-aggressive manner had to do with professional standards and self-image, and the belief that the programme effectively defused potential street crime and created a safer environment – matching the overall objectives of police work.

The causes and nature of delinquency also led to considerable – if inconclusive – debate. The question was: Are children in conflict with the law themselves delinquent, or does the real delinquency lie with their families? Is the judgement 'delinquent' appropriate for children who behave in ways which are sanctioned by the operative value system in the social milieu in which they have been raised? Such questions beg other questions, such as the nature of childish innocence and the age at which cognisance becomes mature understanding of the implications of 'delinquent' behaviour, with the capacity for self-discipline and self-regulation.

Sabri Rheihat placed considerable emphasis on parental performance and the way in which this models the child's values, beliefs and capacity for assuming a viable social identity. He pointed out that while social researchers collect data about family structure, income, shelter, employment and living space, they often fail to record data about parents' behaviour in relation to child-rearing and development: how much love and attention they give their children, and whether they enable the child to develop an attachment to society, including attachments to themselves and to peers.

How far parents – rather than society – should be blamed for child distress or social alienation is an ideologically sensitive issue. However, there is no question that poor parenting – neglect, violence, abuse against a child – is often the reason for his or her abandonment of home. Rheihat identified the key indicators used in the Jordanian programme: whether or not a child is 'supervised', in the sense that a parent knows where he or she is, and with whom; whether the child has internalized a set of rules about supervision and accepts them; whether there is a two-way flow of communication between parents and children; whether the child likes his or her parents and wants to emulate them; whether the child has a sense of commitment to his or her future; and whether the child engages in 'non-conventional' activities – activities not endorsed in the home or school setting. The purpose of the Jordanian programme was seen as the repairing of ruptures between children and socially constructive norms, beliefs, affective ties, values and behaviour – and, of course, ruptures with their families.

Some children may be 'with their family'. But the parents are alcoholic or mentally ill, and the children do not recognize their authority or feel affective ties. So is the structure of the family so important, or is it something else?

Sabri Rheihat,
Directorate of Public Security, Amman

Jo Boyden agreed that social researchers have a tendency to make oversimplified deductions about

Philippines: Strategies on Behalf of Children in Conflict with the Law (Metro Manila)

Purpose: to convert the police and law enforcement machinery from their current role as 'enemies' to 'allies' and partners.

I. Advocacy among police:
   (a) Chiefs of police (national and local)
   (b) Training of local government social workers and NGO personnel as advocates with police
   (c) Advocacy sessions, 1 hour to 2 days
   (d) Manual, for advocacy sessions (b) and (c) above

II. Establish Child and Youth Relations Units in district police offices

III. Manual/guidelines for police *vis à vis* street children

IV. Module in pre-service training at national Police Academy

V. Networking of legal resources for street children
   (a) Colloquium on Protocol – roles and responsibilities of community, police, courts, etc. dealing with youth in conflict with the law
   (b) Colloquium on guidelines and procedures for handling street children
   (c) Para-legal training for street children and educators
   (d) Advocacy sessions with city judges and the legal profession

VI. Situation Analysis on Children in Conflict with the Law
   (a) Lobbying to restore Juvenile and Family Relations Court
   (b) Situation Analysis on children in conflict with the law in four major cities

the reasons for children leaving home or being inadequately supervised by parents. The fact that a street child is from a female-headed household is sometimes cited as a complete explanation; but in many environments, where single-headed households constitute 30 to 40 per cent of the total, the proportion of such children from these households may be no higher than for the population as a whole. Similarly, parental supervision or control is no guarantee of good behaviour. Some children are encouraged by their parents to take up activities in contravention of the law or the socially-approved moral code – for example, prostitution. Is it then appropriate that the child be seen as deviant and criminal? A child who does not understand what is right and wrong behaviour cannot be expected to internalize the reasons for punishment and incrimination, or accept them.

Some participants felt that facilitating street children's self-expression about legal issues and enabling them to take part in debate about legal change is important. Others were less convinced. The notion of youngsters needing protection, needing models and reference groups, needing to postpone adult activities such as work and reproduction, appeared to contradict the idea that children should participate in the policy-making debate as equal partners. The experiences of street children's congresses in the Philippines and in Brazil have shown that children can advocate well on their own behalf and their

39 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

voices can make an impression on law-making bodies. Views differed as to whether this was a genuine contribution to policy development, or a contribution to the improvement of the street child's image which helped to change policy makers' attitudes. Since children are children, they are apt to be manipulated by adults, even – perhaps especially – under the pretext of 'children's participation'.

'Children's participation' must lead to a better chance for children in life; it should not be an end in itself. If they play a participatory role, they must be able to see light at the end of the tunnel.

Boudewijn Mohr, UNICEF Abidjan

The interaction between law, law-making and law enforcement, and the socio-cultural reality of many working children's lives offered the Seminar much food for thought. In Cuba, as Jorge Mejia explained, there are no 'delinquents'; merely children with 'conduct problems', who are placed in special institutions and not regarded as a matter for the police or the judiciary. In West Africa, children may occasionally be confined to mental institutions by their parents because they are outspoken and behave with a lack of discipline which would scarcely raise an eyebrow in another setting. In Kenya, parents endorse strict punishment, even to the point of legal prosecution, of girls who seek abortion in order to remain in school; while rape against schoolgirls receives derisory sentences.

Laws and law enforcement tend to reflect current social values and norms – sensitively or insensitively depending on the political environment. Changing views and attitudes at all levels of society as a corollary to legal and judicial change is therefore ultimately the only way to guarantee children both the protection and the justice they deserve.

Working Girls

All studies of children working on the street show that the majority are boys. According to data presented at the Seminar, 66 per cent of Ecuadorian children in the informal urban sector are male; in Dhaka, Bangladesh, 85 per cent; in Mexico City, 72 per cent. Girls' participation in the formal labour sector is also lower than that of boys: in Ecuador, for example, the participation of girls aged 12 to 14 in employment is 8 per cent; of boys, 21 per cent.

These statistics convey the false impression that problems relating to working children predominantly concern working boys. Girls in the workplace may be comparatively less numerous and less conspicuous, but they are invariably more exploited than boys. Their predicaments, and some NGO responses, are the subject of a recent study on *The Urban Adolescent Woman in Difficult Circumstances* prepared for UNICEF's Urban Section by Gary and Felicia Knaul Barker (October 1992).

The context in which girls are specifically noticed on the street is prostitution; and this is not usually seen as 'work', but as an engagement in immoral or criminal activity. In Thailand alone, 500,000 girls aged under 18, some 140,000 of whom are under 15, earn a living by prostitution. This latter group may soon become 'invisible' because child prostitution has recently been banned; however, this does not mean that their work will end, simply that for many it will be pushed underground.

Meanwhile, the main occupation of girls – domestic work in their own homes or in those of others – is rendered invisible by its non-recognition as 'work', either in economic computations at household or national level, or in law. Advocacy on this issue, and the connected issue of sexual abuse and exploitation of young girls, was the main thrust of a recent video, *The Girl Child* prepared by UNICEF Lima. The successful sensitization of the Peruvian women's movement to the plight of working girls was the subject of a presentation by Nora Galer.

Girls are the most 'invisible' among all the groups of invisible child workers. They are out of school, they are child minders and domestics. We have almost no data, and we need it.

Sheila Tacon, UNICEF Botswana

When working girls do earn, and thereby become visible, they earn much less than boys; but, as underlined by Jose Carlos Cuentas-Zavala, citing studies in Ecuador, they often come home to many hours of washing, ironing and cleaning, and their contribution to the household is therefore much more significant than

the cash they earn. This does not mean that these relative values are recognized by parents: domestic work is seen in most cultures as naturally, even biologically, linked to femininity and is therefore something girls and women do to fulfil their essential role in life. It is menial work and men do not do it; it has therefore been socialized into economic invisibility.

In Asia, the perception of girls as less valuable than boys, since they will bring their parents no income but cost them dearly in dowry payments, governs behaviour towards them from the moment of birth. In Latin America, parents also value boys more highly: they greet their sons differently, build up their confidence, pamper them, have higher expectations from their schooling; while, as Nora Galer underlined, many girls become maids to all, subjugating their service to their baby brothers. In Africa, newborn girls are seen as of equal value to newborn boys. But because of the different gender roles demanded by society, African males grow up to become adults whereas females remain minors. Women are seen as the wards of fathers and husbands; and their status in maturity may derive entirely from being mothers of sons.

Sheila Tacon, now the UNICEF Representative in Botswana but involved in women's issues in UNICEF for many years, shared with the Seminar her sense of the deep resistance long sustained by UNICEF towards confronting issues of gender and equity. Many organizations working with street children, as the Undugu Society of Kenya had admitted, felt strong inhibitions towards dealing with street girls because of the problem of female sexuality and the possibility of pregnancy. Tacon believed that, in a less conspicuous manner, the sexual and power play dimensions of male-female discourse had prolonged the marginalization of women's rights as a programmatic issue. In UNICEF, recent concern with 'the girl child', endorsing gender discrimination as a legitimate subset of children's rights, had broken this mould. For the first time, UNICEF was willing to address the workload, health status, education and life chances of a female human being as important in

Thailand: The Kamla Project

Kamla is the name of a young girl from northern Thailand who died in a fire in a Thai holiday resort, where she was held captive in a brothel. Her story is retold in a children's reading book prepared by the Foundation for Women (FFW) of Bangkok in 1987 for use in primary schools in northern Thailand.

The purpose was to alert young girls to the risks of prostitution. In some of these villages, 90 per cent of girls go into prostitution after primary school, as a result of deals between their parents and 'procurers'. The parents' hope is that their daughters will bring in easy money to their families. Some parents resisted the message of violence and sexual exploitation communicated by the story of Kamla.

The Kamla experience illustrated to teachers that the problem of child prostitution is worsening because of economic stress, the erosion of traditional social values, and the new patterns of consumerism which have spread widely into rural communities.

UNICEF, FFW, the End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism (ECPAT) organization and others have gained the cooperation of the formal primary school system to support increased educational efforts in Grade 6 to inform girls in the relevant communities and deter their entry into prostitution. Training in vocational skills is also being provided for the rehabilitation of girl prostitutes, and to attract primary school graduates into other occupations.

their own right, independently of her biological role in reproduction and the well-being of her present or future babies.

Programmatic interventions for young working girls can be viewed from two directions: occupation and gender. The occupational angle implies specific efforts to target domestic workers (as in Togo and Mali); or to combat child prostitution (as in Thailand and the Philippines); although it must be noted that not all domestics and sex workers are girls. The gender direction implies injecting not just a 'working child' but a 'working girl child' perspective into other programmes and sectors. These two approaches overlap; for example, the domestic workload of a girl plays an important part in whether she is malnourished, and whether she is able to attend school. The occupation of a girl sex worker has an important corelation with her sexual and reproductive health, and her access to opportunities in the wider society. Conversely, school attendance has an important connection with the working role for which a girl is socialized – domestic, reproductive, nurturing – and female drop-out rates are connected to marriage and early pregnancy.

Several issues were prominently raised in group work on working girls. The need for disaggregated data was stressed, and analyses of the particular problems they face: occupational problems such as isolation, mental stress, workload, and vulnerability to sexual abuse and exploitation. Motivational questions surrounding girls' participation in the domestic and sexual workforce need to be explored, from both the demand and the supply perspectives. Some participants were keen that gender goals be set, such as a targeted one-third reduction in disparity between male and female access to and participation in schooling. Preventive approaches, such as the Kamla project in northern Thailand which sensitizes schoolgirls and their families to the risks of accepting work in town, were cited. In Bangladesh, associations of girl domestics and non-formal educational schemes for this group of out-of-school girls – while still getting off the ground – have recently been started.

Enhanced educational opportunity was widely seen as the most important context for redressing gender disparities. Without better qualifications, which are currently denied girls by prevailing attitudes and domestic responsibilities keeping them out of school, their options in life will be limited to early, and often servile, marriage and menial employment. Changes in the curriculum will also bring more girls into school and promote the erosion of social attitudes which reinforce prejudice in favour of sons. The threat of the AIDS virus was seen as particularly alarming for girls who have no negotiating power over sexual demands upon them, and was a pressure point for greater emphasis on sex education in the classroom and attention to adolescent health.

Political commitment is vital. Women's and girls' needs were originally prominent in our National Programme of Action; but during the absence abroad of the key woman policy maker, the emphasis was removed.

Marilena Viviani, UNICEF Burundi

Ultimately, whether in the occupational or the service context, the issue is equity. This principle is clearly enunciated in the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Groups therefore emphasized the enforcement of laws to provide protection for girls, particularly against harmful customary practices such as genital mutilation and early and non-consensual marriage. The predicaments of working girls were inextricable from the disadvantaged status of women, and political will must be mobilized to make serious inroads into changing policy. This will include sensitization of women's organizations which have so far been unwilling to take up the cause of working children, even of working girls. In this context, the positive experience with the Peruvian women's movement provided a source of inspiration.

V. Seminar Aspirations and Decisions

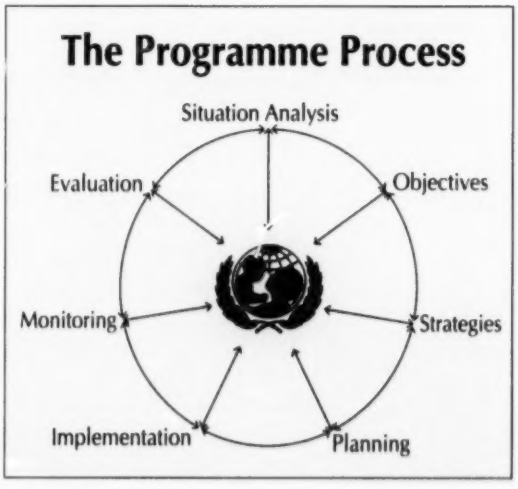
The final part of the Seminar was spent incorporating the insights and information assimilated during the previous eight days of discussion into a programmatic framework, and formulating individual work plans and recommendations. The process, guided by Alan Silverman, UNICEF Training Officer, was one of translating the many concerns about street and working children into concrete activities at project, country, regional and international levels.

The framework utilized for these exercises was that employed by UNICEF for planning country programmes; this framework has hierarchies for setting objectives at country, programme and project levels, and planning activities accordingly. While this appeared to render the learning process UNICEF-specific, the reality is that all programmes and projects need to be developed in a structured framework within which relationships between objectives and activities are clearly established. Not only in UNICEF's experience, but also in that of NGOs and government departments, projects are often developed and implemented in a 'scatter-gun' fashion and their benefits are consequently dispersed. The exercise thus forced participants to think logically and sequentially through the programming process, articulating the whys and hows of what is to be done, in what order, among which target groups, on behalf of whom. In most cases, individual workplans for the forthcoming 12 months followed participants' existing workplans, but reflected new emphases or filled in conceptual, programmatic or partnership development gaps. Plans covered the full cross-section of objectives and activities at different levels, and in almost every case emphasized the need to commission research, especially into the situations of the 'invisibles': child domestic workers, children in the agricultural sector, and children in back-alley workshops and small unregulated urban businesses.

Concerns tended to reflect participants' own positions in their organizational hierarchies, depending on whether they are professionally involved with strategic planning and policy-making, or in service delivery and project implementation. UNICEF Country Representatives and Senior Programme Officers and NGO Directors focused on goal-setting (West Africa); improving tools for situation analysis (Togo); gaining programmatic clout for working children as a subgroup of CEDC (Kenya); fund-raising developing inter-country databases, regional workshops for the implementation of laws *vis à vis* working children (Asia); strong advocacy and partnership development at national and international level (Botswana).

Among project and programme staff, more attention was given to activities involving the beneficiaries. Non-formal education programmes (Philippines) and activities in support of 'Education for All' (Burundi) were common themes, as was income-generation for families with at-risk children (Vietnam). Some envisaged the introduction of community-based data collection and monitoring; many were anxious to build in the participation not only of families but of the children themselves. A new emphasis was given to health, particularly mental health and problems of abused and neglected children (Bangladesh); recreation and artistic expression; and to child rights and labour legislation and their enforcement.

Workshops and training seminars were planned for a wide range of sensitization, programming, and human resources development purposes. Advocacy brochures were envisaged (Mali). There were plans for the dissemination of new information and data-collecting methodologies (Mexico). Some participants made plans to share ideas emanating from the Innocenti Seminar with colleagues and programme partners (Peru).



In Ecuador, we are trying to implant the idea of social investment as a productive activity; we are trying to develop philanthropy. Take the example of the Spedale degli Innocenti *here in Florence; why did rich people think this was a worthwhile institution to invest in?*

Cornelio Marchan, Fundación Esquel, Ecuador

Main Seminar Recommendations

The Seminar spent much of its final day recapitulating the territory it had covered by putting forward recommendations. Since this was a training exercise, the emphasis was on the process and on participation, rather than on achieving a tidy and pragmatic end

Individual Workplan: Ramesh Shrestha, Programme Officer, UNICEF Hanoi

Programme objectives:

(1) To improve the physical and psycho-social development of children in the poorest of poor families in peri-urban areas;

(2) To assist street and working children to increase their income.

Project objectives:

(1) To provide cash loans to 600 families for income-generating projects, e.g. poultry, pigs, vegetables;

(2) To improve the quality of service delivery in the communes by training school teachers, health workers, agricultural extension workers;

(3) To promote the retention of children in primary school by organizing flexible multigrade classes;

(4) To organize groups of street and working children for cooperative management of poultry, fishing, frogs, etc.;

(5) To provide loans for groups in (4);

(6) Periodic training for groups with specific needs, e.g. for use of fertilizers, preparation of feeds;

(7) To explore the possibility of employment of street children as messengers.

Activity objectives:

(1) Hold management training for target families, in groups of tens;

(2) Train health workers on specific health needs of working children, e.g. occupational injuries, child psychology;

(3) To start three multigrade classes for children aged 10-15;

(4) Hold training sessions for street and working children in management of agricultural and fishing cooperatives;

(5) Establish a revolving fund for emergency needs of street and working children;

(6) Prepare case studies of specific children to understand the nature of and reasons for child work.

product. The recommendations therefore represented less a formal advocacy statement than a heterogeneous checklist of principles, guidelines and admonitory 'dos' and 'don'ts'. These were grouped under two sets of headings: programmatic component (situation analysis, planning, implementation, costing and funding, advocacy and information exchange, and monitoring and evaluation); and level of application (country, region, international – many were applicable at all three levels). Most of these recommendations were designed for action within UNICEF, but others were also applicable to ILO and other organizations.

We need concrete experience to show which are the real jewels and which are fake. We need data about numbers reached, impact and efficiency. We need to be able to demonstrate workable models to the sceptics.

Jim Himes, ICDC, Florence

While the results of this process were stimulating and creative, some participants felt that the list that emerged – there were 262 recommendations altogether – failed to prioritize target groups and lacked clear-cut decisions on common methodologies. Jim Himes, ICDC Director, had consistently advised the group throughout the Seminar to pinpoint key actions bearing in mind budgetary restraints and the need for realism, especially in terms of the impact international organizations can expect to have. However, the mood of the Seminar was expansive. Participants preferred to cover the territory fully rather than reach a tight consensus on specific issues that might not be replicable from one country to another or from one organization to another, and that would be bound to face obstacles – both predictable and unpredictable – in terms of organizational inclination and political will.

The following can be regarded as a distillation of the main Seminar recommendations*:

1. *Finding the 'invisible' children*: Special efforts must be made to document the situation of the 'invisible' working children: agricultural workers, domestic servants, children in marginal occupations (notably child prostitutes), and child employees in hazardous small industries and businesses.

2. *The multi-pronged approach*: An approach should be adopted which is multi-disciplinary, multi-sectoral, and which transcends sectors to include advocacy, public sensitization, policy development, legislative change, and improved monitoring and evaluation, i.e. the 'multi-pronged' approach.

3. *Prevention*: Activities which are family and community based are needed, both as a strategy to reduce the magnitude of the problem and to 'go to scale' on behalf of disadvantaged children. CEDC should be seen as a priority group within all programming or other programmes will miss their own targets.

4. *The girl child*: There is a gender perspective to predicaments of street children, working children, and child labour; in all situation analyses and programme and project interventions, gender must be taken into account.

5. *Entry-points*: The location of the child, the street, institution or workplace, or the child's occupation may not be the only entry-point; health actions can be important entry-points, as can education, for comprehensive programmes.

6. *Special risks among the abandoned*: Children living on the streets are in need of special attention concerning substance abuse, HIV/AIDS and STDs, violence, and psycho-social disorders. 'Street primary health care' represents a helpful, non-institutional approach.

7. *International collaboration*: Mechanisms to reinforce collaboration at the international and national level between UNICEF, ILO, UNESCO, WHO, and NGOs are needed.

8. *Convention on the Rights of the Child*: Policy development, planning and programming as well as advocacy need to be advanced under the umbrella of the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child; for some organizations, including UNICEF, the Convention also represents a challenge towards developing a better understanding of the socio-legal dimensions of the problems of street and working children.

9. *International labour issues*: Child labour and the status of laws and law enforcement concerning

* Additional and more detailed recommendations for programming are included in Annex 1.

child labour need constant review and advocacy by all partners within an international framework.

10. *Public awareness*: Activities to promote public awareness concerning the realities of child exploitation, both on the street and in the workplace, are needed via the media and by other means.

11. *Children's participation*: The involvement of children in all stages of the analytical and programmatic process are required to ensure that their voices are heard. Their involvement in project implementation enhances their sense of responsibility as well as the cost-effectiveness of projects.

12. *Towards a 'grand alliance' for working children*: Partners in the private and public sector, among officials and NGOs, among service-delivery organizations and associations working for group and individual rights, are needed to build a 'grand alliance' on behalf of working children; this will require the conversion of 'enemies' to 'allies'.

ANNEX 1:

SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS FOR VARIOUS STAGES OF THE PROGRAMMING CYCLE

The following is a summary of key recommendations which emerged during the Seminar, organized according to the stages generally used by UNICEF and other agencies in their programming cycles.

Situation Analysis

At the country level:

▷ The situation analysis for street and working children should widen its focus to include 'invisible' working children, and differentiate the situation of young working girls.

▷ Historical experience with child labour legislation and enforcement needs to be examined with a view to acceleration and change.

▷ Situation analyses should be undertaken as a collaborative process with UN agencies other than UNICEF, as well as governments, NGOs, policy and academic institutes, and be used as an advocacy tool.

▷ Street and working children (and all CEDC) should be seen as an especially disadvantaged group within sectoral and community-based programmes, and be treated as such within their own situation analyses.

▷ Children, families and community leaders (including possible 'enemies') should be involved as participants in the situation analysis.

▷ The situation analysis should identify communities at risk of contributing to the phenomenon of street and working children so as to target preventive action.

▷ The situation analysis should take into account the policy environment and macro issues, such as the relationship between structural adjustment and the phenomenon of increasing poverty and child work.

At the regional level:

▷ Situation analysis methodology should be shared among countries in the same region.

▷ Migration patterns and cross-border trafficking flows need to be included.

▷ Regions with countries sharing particular problems relating to street and working children, such as AIDS orphans in Africa, need common diagnostic tools.

At the international level:

▷ All relevant UN organizations (UNICEF, ILO, WHO, UNESCO) should cooperate in providing technical assistance to countries conducting situation analyses of working and street children.

▷ The Convention on the Rights of the Child should be used as a framework to promote situation analyses of abuses of children's rights in relation to hazardous work and exploitation.

▷ CEDC, including street and working children, should be established as a priority group for situation analysis. Model methodology for surveys, studies and indicators should be established.

▷ Child labour and law enforcement relating to particular categories of working children (such as children in bonded labour) needs to be reviewed.

Planning: setting goals and determining policies

At the country level:

▷ Develop a multi-pronged approach adapted to the country situation regarding the problems of street and working children.

▷ Position CEDC strategically within the country programme; if in a separate programme, CEDC should not be a 'ghetto'; if part of a sectoral programme, it should be one with strategic clout.

▷ Ensure that equity issues are addressed, such as children's (and women's) pay; include examination of unpaid domestic work undertaken by girls.

▷ Ensure that sensitive issues, such as child prostitution, are included.

▷ Reopen discussions on National Programmes of Action for reaching the World Summit for Chil-

dren Goals where street and working children's predicaments have not been adequately addressed.

▷ Goals (quantitative and qualitative) should be set: priority groups and numbers of target beneficiaries for services (non-formal education, drop-in centres) should be identified within a time-frame.

▷ Programme objectives should extend beyond service delivery for working children, and include their psycho-social needs.

▷ The results of the situation analysis should guide the planning and policy development process; partners need to be involved.

▷ All planning needs to take into account basic cost elements and the ultimate objective of 'going to scale'.

At the regional level:

▷ Regional workshops and training seminars will be needed, particularly to tackle special problems such as drug abuse and STD transmission among working and street children.

▷ Regional consensus is needed on the importance of improving the status of children, in the spirit of the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

At the international level:

▷ Organizations within the UN system (UNICEF, ILO, WHO, UNESCO) should disseminate information about methods, approaches and models which seem to work.

▷ Issues relating to working children should be raised higher on the UN agenda; UNICEF's own policy guidelines should be strengthened.

▷ Greater priority should be given to child work and labour as opposed to children on the street.

▷ Structural adjustment programmes need to recognize that the phenomenon of street and working children co-relates to measures which reduce real incomes and exacerbate unemployment.

Implementation of programmes and projects

At the country level:

▷ Establish a Task Force at country level to spearhead and monitor activities and services; ensure wide representation, including employers.

▷ Pilot projects: consider replicability and potential for scale and sustainability; keep track of all costs and analyse cost and financing implications of 'going to scale'; respect limitations of 'jewel boxes' — PPPs.

▷ Ensure that education is genuinely free for children of the poorest families; for example, provide subsidies for uniforms, books, and so on.

▷ Attempt to bring 'invisible' children under the protection of labour laws, compulsory education laws and other protective legislation.

▷ Provide training for project staff as a prerequisite of programme implementation.

▷ Make complaint and court procedures more accessible to children suffering from abuses in the workplace, the street, and so on.

▷ Each phase of implementation should be accompanied by advocacy and social mobilization to expand support for activities.

▷ Prevention will require programmatic interventions on behalf of families; income generation should be given special attention.

▷ Create occupational associations for children in the workplace and on the street; create a supportive familial atmosphere in institutions.

▷ Consider child workload reduction as a suitable target of interventions in other sectors, such as water supply and household technology.

At the regional level:

▷ Case studies of innovative and successful projects should be documented and disseminated.

▷ Regional fora of working children should be encouraged, as well as sports competitions, art and literary competitions, and regional 'events'.

▷ Where a given country has a particularly poor record, such regional fora may be used as a pressure point.

▷ Develop regional strategies for preventing the trafficking of children.

At the international level:

▷ Produce publications for international advocacy and pressure on countries to relieve the predicament of working children, especially girls and 'invisibles'.

▷ Create networking mechanisms for information sharing, particularly where at-risk groups are concerned, e.g. for HIV/AIDS; ensure that data and parameters applied are consistent.

▷ Link the interventions relating to child labour to social programmes designed to offset the impact of structural adjustment programmes.

▷ Develop different models for 'going to scale' on behalf of working children with maximum cost-effectiveness and sustainability.

Cost and funding issues

At the country level:

▷ Explore a broad range of possible sources of funds and other resources — including human and organizational resources from household level up — in the public, voluntary and private sectors.

▷ Foster income-generating projects to aim for the sustainability of other interventions, such as child scholarships.

▷ Analyse projects which have received long-term support with a view to improving their cost-benefit performance.

▷ Explore fund-raising opportunities in the private sector, for example with banks and supermarkets.

▷ Explore the possibility of debt conversion as a source of funding (as in the case of Ecuador).

▷ Advocate for an increased share of the country budget of UNICEF for CEDC, and earmark a proportion of funds for health, education and other budgets for CEDC.

At the regional level:

▷ Apply to regional banks, such as the Inter-American Development Bank, for funds.

▷ Set up Trust Funds for CEDC, so that funds can be renewable and donors cannot complain that CEDC are a 'bottomless pit'.

At the international level:

▷ Urge the donor community to improve funding for high-priority human and social development programmes, with special attention to sustainable strategies for working with CEDC.

▷ Develop consortia of donors, to be utilized at country and regional levels.

▷ International NGOs should provide training and technical assistance for capacity building for national and regional NGOs, for fund-raising and local advocacy.

Advocacy and information exchange

At the country level:

▷ Develop new partnership groups and networks, trying to convert 'enemies' to 'allies'.

▷ Disseminate information about the Convention on the Rights of the Child around the country, underlining the rights of CEDC; mobilize and train children as advocates of the Convention.

▷ Create and generate data; incorporate into databases; and ensure all partners have access to the information by vehicles such as workshops, seminars, and via documentation.

▷ Establish bodies such as a 'Child's Rights Forum' with membership from partners; develop joint NGO submissions to international and monitoring bodies.

▷ Learn how to work with media so as to develop their capacity as partners in investigating CEDC problems and solutions.

▷ Train members of professional associations, volunteers, and new partnership groups to become effective advocates on children's issues.

▷ Use folk drama and street plays as advocacy tools; tailor messages to needs of partners.

At the regional level:

▷ Create regional databases and publish regional materials; hold regional workshops and conferences.

▷ Share information between countries concerning child trafficking and other cross-border child rights abuses.

At the international level:

▷ Work with international fora of religious leaders (Islamic, Buddhist, the Vatican, bishops' conferences).

▷ Inject information on street and working children into the international debate on structural adjustment programmes.

▷ Promote global seminars and conferences on child rights and conventions on child labour.

Monitoring and evaluation

At the country level:

▷ Design improved survey instruments for monitoring CEDC projects throughout the projects' life-span.

▷ Organize joint government/NGO evaluations for use as advocacy tools.

▷ Indicators for monitoring and evaluation of programmes and projects should be developed and applied nationally by implementors; when indicators are too difficult to find, use 'indications'.

▷ Monitor children's and families' participation in projects; use monitoring as a learning exercise for all parties.

▷ Monitor compliance and identify violations of children's rights.

▷ Share the outcome of monitoring and evaluation with beneficiaries on a regular basis.

At the regional level:

▷ Support regional human rights monitoring groups and watchdogs, such as Africa Watch, and encourage them to include children's rights in their agenda.

At the international level:

▷ Provide training in monitoring and evaluation, via technical assistance.

▷ Use results of monitoring and evaluation for advocacy, to place children's issues higher on national and international agendas.

▷ Use the opportunity presented by the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the monitoring potential of the new Committee on the Rights of the Child to explore and expose issues of street and working children internationally.

▷ Improve monitoring systems; settle on basic common elements, wherever feasible. Establish common indicators, including qualitative indicators for psycho-social and human rights analysis.

▷ Indicators for monitoring and evaluation should be seen as strategic aids for goal-setting, internationally and within programmes.

ANNEX 2:
AGENDA OF THE FOURTH INNOCENTI GLOBAL SEMINAR

1. Monday, February 15

Morning

Welcome and Opening Remarks
(Paolo Basurto)

Seminar Objectives
Introduction of Participants
Participants' Expectations
Agenda and Expected Outputs
(Alan Silverman/Victoria Rialp)

OVERVIEW: Street and Working Children:
Why are We Concerned?
(Josefina Dy)

The Convention on the Rights of the Child:
Context for Protecting Street and Working
Children
(James Himes)

General Discussion

Afternoon

Video: The Age of Child Slavery

Combating Child Labour: ILO Policy and Experience
(Josefina Dy/Lee Sweptson)

Group Discussions/Plenary

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2. Tuesday, February 16

Morning

Introduction: Emerging Issues re Child Labour

UNICEF - ECUADOR Presentation/Discussion
(Jose Cuentas-Zavala)

TOGO Presentation/Discussion
(Kwadjo Ablode Mally)

BANGLADESH Presentation/Discussion
(Rosemary Husain)

General Discussion

Afternoon

Reading and Individual Work

General Discussion: Critical Issues
(Josefina Dy/Lee Sweptson/William Myers/Jocelyn Boyden)

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3. Wednesday, February 17

Morning Individual Work and Group Discussions:
Analysis of Programme Experiences

Afternoon Group Reports/Discussion

Synthesis/Discussion: Reaching the Most At-Risk Working Children
(Josefina Dy/William Myers/Jocelyn Boyden)

Film Showing: Pixote

4. Thursday, February 18

Morning Street Children: Why at Risk?

Video: The Children's War
(Victoria Rialp)

General Discussion

ICDC Urban Child Studies
(James Himes/Cristina Blanc/Roger Hart)

MEXICO Presentation/Discussion
(Jorge Mejia)

Afternoon Individual reading/Group work

General Discussion

5. Friday, February 19

Morning Examples: Preventive and Protective Approaches to Meeting the Needs of Working and Street Children

UNDUGU SOCIETY - KENYA Presentation/Discussion
(Ezra Mbgori)

GRUPO ESQUEL - ECUADOR Presentation/Discussion
(Cornelio Carrasco)

General Discussion: Special Points of Interest

Afternoon Group Discussions: Reaching the Most At-Risk Street Children

Group Reports

6. Saturday, February 20

Morning Meeting Basic Education Needs of Street and Working Children: Emerging Issues (Victor Ordonez)

Video: SENEGAL - Children in Koranic Schools

Panel: Lessons Learned from Programme Experience
(Cornelio Carrasco/Ezra Mbgori/Rosemary Husin/others)

General Discussion

Afternoon Afternoon Free

7. Monday, February 22

Morning WHO and HONDURAS Street Children Project Presentation/Discussion
(Donald Kaminsky)

Group Discussions: Meeting Health Needs of Street and Working Children: Review of Connolly Report *Health of Street Children and Youth*

Group Reports

Afternoon Panel: Initiatives in Protecting Children in Conflict with the Law (JORDAN, PHILIPPINES, ECUADOR, others)

General Discussion

8. Tuesday, February 23

Morning Introduction: Meeting the Special Needs of the Working and Street Girl Child
Video/Discussion

Group Discussions based on Knaul-Barker Report on *The Urban Adolescent Woman in Difficult Circumstances*

Group Reports/Recap

Afternoon Introduction and Video: Maximizing Children's Participation in Promoting and Protecting Their Rights
(Roger Hart)

General Discussion: Programme Experience with Problems and Issues regarding Children's Participation

Group Discussions: Involving Children in Situation Analysis, Programme Design and Implementation, Programme Assessment

9. Wednesday, February 24

Morning	Recap and Guidelines for Programming Recommendations
	Group Work
	Group Reports on Policy and Programme Recommendations
Afternoon	Individual Work and Networking for Participants' Plans of Action

10. Thursday, February 25

Morning	Presentation of Participants' Plans of Action
	General Discussion: Support from UNICEF Headquarters, Regional and Country Offices, ICDC, ILO, UNESCO, NGOs, others
	General Discussion continued on Next Steps
Afternoon	Recap
	Seminar Evaluation
	Closing

54

ANNEX 3:
PARTICIPANTS AND INVITED SPEAKERS

- *Assefa Bequele*
  Project Manager
  Interdepartmental Project on the
  Elimination of Child Labour
  ILO Geneva

- *Maggie Black*
  Rapporteur

- *Cristina Blanc*
  ICDC Consultant

- *Jocelyn Boyden*
  Resource Consultant

- *Jose Cuentas-Zavala*
  Representative
  UNICEF Quito

- *Josefina Dy*
  Chief, Child Labour & Vulnerable
  Workers Section, Conditions of Work
  and Welfare Branch
  ILO Geneva

- *Nora Galer*
  Programme Coordinator
  UNICEF Lima

- *Roger Hart*
  City University of New York

- *James R. Himes*
  Director, ICDC

- *Akmal Husain*
  Director General,
  Department of Social Services
  Bangladesh

- *Rosemary Husin*
  Project Officer
  Urban/CEDC Programmes
  UNICEF Dhaka

- *Donald Kaminsky*
  Resource Consultant
  Proyecto Alternativas
  Tegucigalpa, Honduras

- *Brigitta Ling*
  Rädda Barnen
  Sweden

- *Ilaria Lombardi*
  Expert, Street Children Educators
  Istituto degli Innocenti

- *Khadiatou Ly*
  Asst. Project Officer
  Urban/CEDC Programmes
  UNICEF Bamako

- *Kwadjo Ablode Mally*
  African Regional Director
  World Association for Orphans
  Togo

- *Cornelio Marchan Carrasco*
  Executive President
  Fundación Grupo Esquel
  Ecuador

- *Ezra Mbgori*
  Resource Consultant
  Undugu Society Kenya

- *Jorge Mejia*
  CEDC Project Coordinator
  UNICEF Mexico

- *Nazar Memon*
  Senior Programme Officer
  UNICEF Nairobi

- *Boudewijn Mohr*
  Regional Advisor,
  Community Development
  UNICEF Abidjan

➢ *William Myers*
Resource Consultant
ILO Geneva

➢ *Victor Ordonez*
UNESCO

➢ *Alice Perlini*
Coordinator
Programme for International
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➢ *Kitiya Phornsadja*
Asst. Programme Officer
UNICEF Bangkok

➢ *Sabri Rheihat*
Research Advisor/
Directorate of Public Security
Amman, Jordan

➢ *Victoria Rialp*
Project Officer
CEDC, Urban Section
UNICEF NYHQ

➢ *Ramesh Shrestha*
Programme Officer
UNICEF Hanoi

➢ *Teresita Silva*
Director, Childhope Asia
Philippines

➢ *Alan Silverman*
Training Officer
Training Section, DOP
UNICEF NYHQ

➢ *Lee Sweptson*
Chief, International Labour Standards
Dept. (and Coordinator
on Human Rights Issues)
ILO Geneva

➢ *Sheila Tacon*
Representative
UNICEF Gaborone

➢ *Miguel Ugalde*
Zone Programme Officer
UNICEF Ibadan

➢ *Marilena Viviani*
Project Officer
UNICEF Bujumbura